LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
APR 23 1930
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

DA 690 .C3 C63 1929
Cotton, Charles, 1856-1939.
The Saxon cathedral at
Canterbury and the Saxon

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

NO. CCI

THE SAXON CATHEDRAL AT CANTERBURY AND THE SAXON SAINTS BURIED THEREIN

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKechnie, M.A., Secretary)
23 Lime Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester

THE SAXON CATHEDRAL AT CANTERBURY AND THE SAXON SAINTS BURIED THEREIN

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BY

CHARLES COTTON, O.B.E., F.R.C.P.E.

Hon. Librarian, Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

1929

MADE IN ENGLAND
All rights reserved

QUAM DILECTA TABERNACULA

How lovely and how loved, how full of grace,
The Lord the God of Hosts, His dwelling place!
How elect your
Architecture!
How serene your walls remain:
Never moved by,
Rather proved by
Wind, and storm, and surge, and rain!

ADAM ST. VICTOR, of the Twelfth Century.

Dr. J. M. Neale's translation in *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences.*

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
The Arcadia Fund

https://archive.org/details/saxoncathedralat00cott

PREFACE

THIS account of the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury, and of the Saxon Saints buried therein, was written primarily for new members of Archæological Societies, as well as for general readers who might desire to learn something of its history and organization in those far-away days. The matter has been drawn from the writings of men long since passed away. Their dust lies commingled with that of their successors who lived down to the time when this ancient Religious House fell upon revolutionary days, who witnessed its dissolution as a Priory of Benedictine Monks after nine centuries devoted to the service of God, and its re-establishment as a College of secular canons. This important change, taking place in the sixteenth century, was, with certain differences, a return to the organization which existed during the Saxon period. From the time of St. Austin, about the year 602, to that of Lanfranc at the time of the Conquest, the Cathedral was served by a staff of clergy who lived a common life but were not monks, as they followed no monastic rule, though they used a common dormitory and a common refectory. At the Reformation, when the Cathedral was re-founded by Henry VIII, the clergy were to be seculars, not living a common life, but canons living in separate houses and governed by a Dean, as in all the Cathedral establishments of the old foundation.

If any of my archæological confrères should honour me by reading this volume, I trust that they will read the Appendix before venturing upon the text. In it will be found a narrative—extracted from the writings of mediæval historians—which has led me to put forward the opinions I have formulated, first, as to whether there is any portion of the Saxon church visible above ground; secondly, whether any portion of the Saxon domestic buildings remain above ground; and thirdly,

whether access to the ambulatory or passage leading to the crypt was by a north and south entrance from the transept, or by a west to east passage only in the centre of the steps leading up from the nave to the presbytery. I have followed Professor Willis, as a sure guide in most of his interpretations. He was the first archæologist to measure up and survey our cathedrals in a scientific manner; and he combined the study of ancient muniments with a vast historical knowledge, which enabled him to take first place within the ranks of his archæological brethren. Much, doubtless, has been learnt since Professor Willis's time, but his masterly treatise on Canterbury Cathedral remains the key to most of the problems which arise concerning it, and all later writers are indebted to his industry, and the methods he used to elucidate its results. I also desire here to offer my homage to the memory of the late Sir William St. John Hope, and at the same time to express my admiration of his genius. To his learning and accuracy, I, in common with many others, owe much. He was a kind and considerate friend, ever ready to bestow the benefit of his great knowledge upon those who sought it. To Lieut.-Col. S. H. Page, C.M.G., architect, of Ramsgate, I owe special thanks; he took upon himself the trouble of typing my MS., thereby making its revision an easy matter, and also very kindly turned my rough draughts of the plans into finished drawings; his intimate knowledge of the crypt of the Cathedral and its measurements will, I hope, be given to students ere long, and they will be surprised and interested at the result of his investigations.

Thanks also are due to the Council of the Kent Archæological Society for permission to reproduce the picture of Queen Ediva; to the British Archæological Association for a like permission with regard to the plan of Durovernum; to the Society of Antiquaries for permission to use the plan illustrating the early Christian Church at Silchester; and to the Committee of the Public Museum and Art Gallery of the Corporation of Reading for permission to use photos of the foundations of the same church; and lastly to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for permission to make use of the MSS. preserved in their Library.

Amongst the biographies of the Saxon Saints interred within the Cathedral, some new material with reference to their anniversaries will be found. No laudatory inscriptions mark their last resting-places—

time, aided by the wanton neglect of man, and the ruthlessness of the so-called restorer, has obliterated the last traces of their sepulture; and it is the local antiquary only, who knows where their dust probably lies. But the good they did lives after them, and we can best praise them in the words of Ecclesiasticus, as in the Vulgate version:

"They were rich in vertue, studying beautifulness, living in peace in their house; They were men of mercy, whose godly deeds have not failed; Their bodies are buried in peace, and their name liveth from generation to generation. Let the people shew forth their wisdom and the Church declare their praise."

Authorities quoted and references to authors will be found in the Notes and in the Text; the most important of which will be found in the Bibliography.

C. COTTON

THE PRECINCTS,
CANTERBURY.
1929.

INTRODUCTION

AS it is impossible to fix with precision the beginning of Christianity in Britain, so it is impossible to fix the date of the earliest buildings in which that religion was practised. We are certain, however, that Christianity had made considerable progress in the country before the time of Constantine the Great (306–337). This Emperor by the celebrated Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) granted to all Christians the same liberty to live according to their own laws and regulations as that possessed by the older religions.

At this time Britain was a Roman province. The unsuccessful expeditions of Julius Caesar undertaken between fifty-five and fifty years before Christ were followed after an interval of nearly one hundred years by a further invasion under Claudius Caesar, A.D. 43. Thereafter, for nearly forty years incessant warfare took place between the legions of Rome and the Britons. At the termination of that time nearly the whole area of what we now call England, Wales and the southern part of Scotland became subject to Rome; being governed by Romans; occupied by a Roman army, by no means consisting of Italian Romans; colonized by Roman citizens and visited by Roman Emperors. This Roman civilization founded cities; built temples, palaces; villas, and baths; constructed roads and aqueducts; Britain became as highly civilized as almost any other part of the Roman Empire.

Christianity had reached Britain by way of France (then called Transalpine Gaul) before the conclusion of the second or soon after the beginning of the third century. No churches are recorded to have existed in France before the second century; we may therefore conclude that none existed in Britain until some time later, but whatever may have been the case, in the terrible persecution of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century all the *conventicula* or churches were

destroyed, and it was not until a few years later, viz. after the promulgation of the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) that churches were again publicly erected and used. In all probability these buildings were of wood, hence their total disappearance; but a few apparently were built of stone; or were heathen temples converted to Christian worship, such as the western portion of the chancel of the church at Stone, near Faversham.

Of the more substantially built churches in the south we have two notable examples, those of Calleva (Silchester) and Durovernum (Canterbury); but there were doubtless others, as in A.D. 597 King Ethelbert on his conversion gave permission to St. Austin to "build and repair" the churches throughout the land, implying that they existed but were in ruins.

From A.D. 313 for about one hundred years the Church in Britain flourished, and extended to Ireland and Scotland; the seed being planted in the former by St. Patrick, a Scot, but educated by St. Martin, Bishop of Tours and consecrated by Amator, Bishop of Auxerre; and in the latter by St. Ninian, a British Christian, trained in Rome, who, when consecrated Bishop, established himself at Whithorn on the Solway, where he built a church of stone instead of wood, as was "customary amongst the Britons," which he dedicated to St. Martin. At the end of one hundred years, namely in A.D. 410, the Roman army was recalled from Britain, and then began incursions by Picts and Scots from the north, and Saxons, Angles and Jutes from overseas; culminating in 457 in the conquest of Kent by Hengist, and by the end of another 150 years in the country being divided unequally into east and west. In the former were the pagan Angles, Saxons and Jutes, and in the latter the remnants of the British Church, cut off by a barrier of heathendom from Western civilization for the space of 150 years.

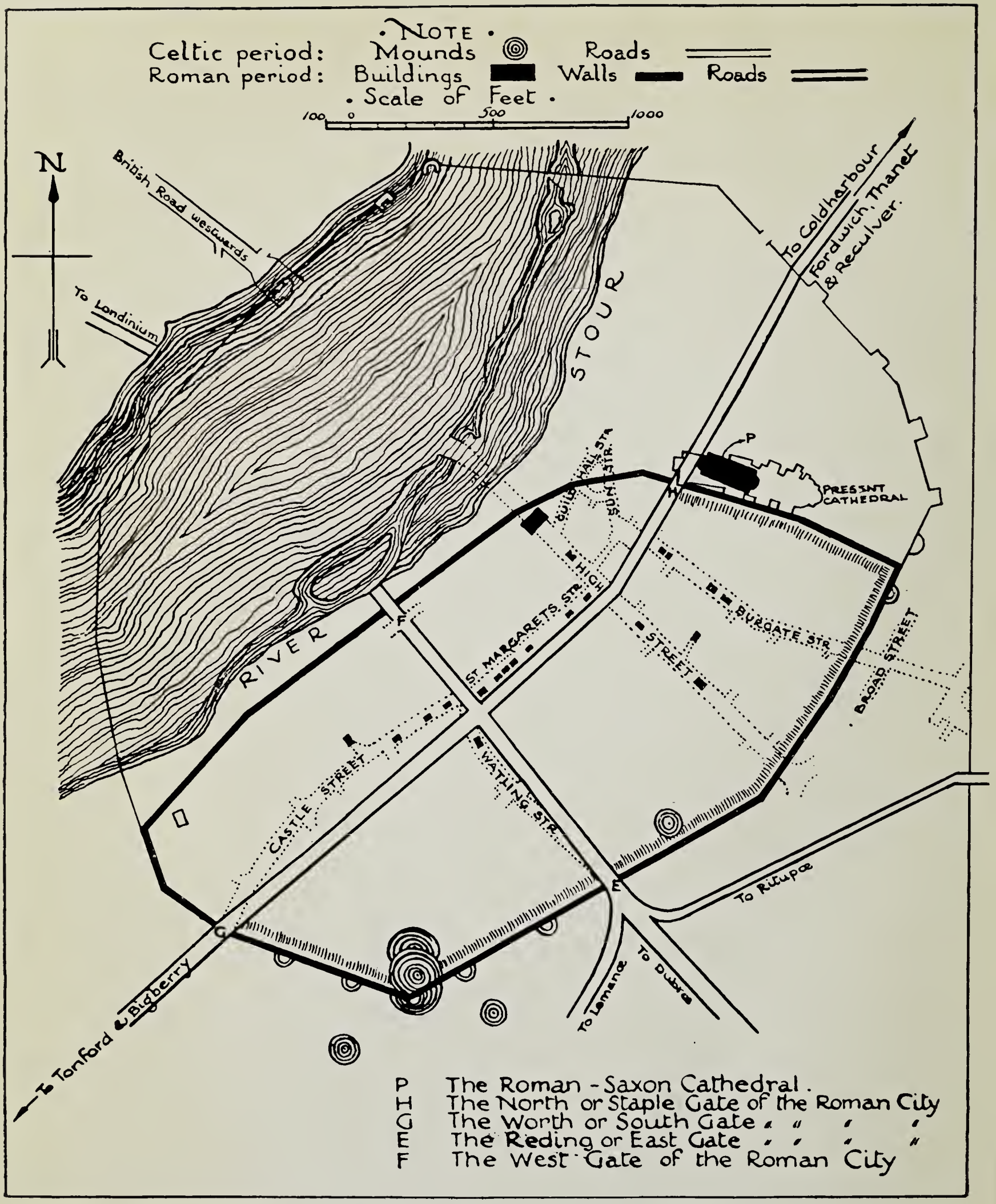
It is not surprising, therefore, to find after the invasions of these barbarians, "sea-wolves that live on the pillage of the world" as a contemporary Roman poet sang, that the wooden churches were burnt; and that of those few which happened to be of stone merely the shell or foundation was left, as at Canterbury and Silchester.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I	Durovernum. Cantwarabyrig	1
II	The Romano-British and Saxon Church	12
III	The Church of Cuthbert	25
IV	The Church of St. Odo	32
V	St. Breogwine, Archbishop and Confessor, August 25	40
VI	St. Feologild, Archbishop and Confessor, June 9	43
VII	St. Plegmund, Archbishop and Confessor, August 2	46
VIII	St. Odo, Archbishop and Confessor, June 2	50
IX	St. Dunstan, Archbishop and Confessor, May 19	61
X	St. Elfric, Archbishop and Confessor	78
XI	St. Alphage, Archbishop and Martyr, April 19	82
XII	1017–1067	94
	Appendix	99
	Bibliography	105
	Index	107

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	OPPOSITE PAGE
Map of Durovernum	1
Plan of the Romano-British Church at Silchester	page 7
Early Seal of Christ Church, Canterbury	10
Foundations of the Romano-British Church at Silchester from the West	12
Foundations of the Romano-British Church at Silchester from the East	13
Conjectural Plan of the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury	14
Charter of Archbishop Athelard, a.d. 803	44
Picture of Queen Ediva	52
Charter of King Edred written by Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, a.d. 949, recto	54
Charter of King Edred written by Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, a.d. 949, verso	55



Plan of Durovernum

(After the sketch by T. Godfrey Faussett in *The Archæological Journal*, Vol 32)

CHAPTER I

DUROVERNUM. CANTWARABYRIG

AS the Kentish Stour takes its course through the hills and along the beautiful and fertile valleys in East Kent, it reaches the site of Durovernum, a Roman town situated in that part of the county where the valley, widening out, becomes about two miles in breadth, and the river itself divides into two main streams with several islands among its branches; this is some eight or nine miles from its entry into what was anciently called the Wantsume, at Stourmouth.

At Tonford, rather less than a couple of miles above this anastomosis of waters in the valley referred to, the stream is single and fordable. This was convenient for reaching the British oppidum at Bigbury, a stronghold in all probability of pre-historic times, but of the date of its occupation there is no certain evidence.

A couple of furlongs below Durovernum, at Coldharbour (a term of Saxon origin signifying a "place of shelter by the side of an old road"), the waters are again found to be gathering together, whilst a quarter of a mile lower down at the Pool below Barton Mills a single stream is formed which flows on to Stour-ey (at Sturry) and the ford, at Fordwich.

Here, then, at Durovernum, where the river widens out, forming the two main streams and its confluent branches, it can be realized that in early days much of the land between them and on their borders was marshland or bog. Nevertheless, at this spot, on account of the shallowness of the river, there had been constructed the most important ford hereabouts in Roman times; for at this place the great Roman roads from the coast fortresses at Reculver, Richborough,

Dover, and Lympne, met to cross the first obstacle on the way to London. Probably for a thousand years before the Roman occupation there had been a ford here, used by the ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were in the habit of travelling along what is now called the "Pilgrim Way"; but which is, in reality, an ancient British or Celtic track. The accessibility and convenient situation of this ford was probably the original reason for the four Wents being directed to this spot, and was the only cause which brought the locality into any kind of importance as a "mansio" or rest station, for Roman soldiers.

Romano-British Church Built

Here it was that some time early in the fourth century a body of Christians, Romans or British or both, determined to build a place in which to worship according to their newly emancipated Faith. The site chosen for such a building in this not very important military station was where it might be expected to be placed, without the walls of the Roman City, but close to one of its gates, that of the north or Staple Gate as it was called from the presence of a market for buying and selling just outside. This was the chief commercial centre, and the resort of the merchants with their merchandise from all parts, including the Continent, and amongst those frequenting it were doubtless many who professed the Christian religion. For this reason the building must have been of considerable size, very much larger than the tiny oratory [1] which Bede tells us was also in use during the Roman occupation, which was situated upon the slope of a hill to the east of the city by the side of the Roman road leading to Richborough, afterwards dedicated to St. Martin.[2]

The church at the Staplegate Market was barely a furlong from the right bank of the eastern branch of the river, a little below the ford over the shallows and practically on the edge of the marsh. Through

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xxvi.

[2] In Anglo-Saxon times it was the custom on Palm Sunday for the Procession of the Cathedral Clergy and Laity to proceed to this venerable Church singing "Glory, Laud and Honour" where they made a station. This ancient hymn was composed by St. Theodulph of Orleans, who died in A.D. 821. *The Canterbury Benedictional.* Henry Bradshaw Society, 1916.

this marsh the road from the city's north gate led past Coldharbour to the islet on the Stour, Stour-ey, where the road bifurcates, its northern branch passing direct to Reculver. Its eastern branch, called the Dun Street, goes over the hill to the ferry, ford, or wading-place at Sarre for the Isle of Thanet and thence over the Downs looking away southwards to the Roman landing place or wharf on the Wantsume, called Watchester (now, Minster). Thence it passes on to the high land at the eastern part of the island to the sea at Ruimsgate (the gate of Richborough Isle), now Ramsgate, where was an outpost or Look-Out not far from "the Cantium " (the North Foreland) of Ptolemy.

At the time under consideration, the north gate of the city is supposed to have occupied the spot where the south-west porch of the Cathedral now stands, and the Reculver and Thanet Road passed over where in later years Lanfranc built the western towers of the early Norman Church. Such was the marshy character of the ground at this spot that at times of flood it must have become a dangerous slough or bog, for when, in the early years of the nineteenth century, Lanfranc's north-west tower was taken down, and foundations were dug for the new tower, built to match its fellow on the south, the skeleton of a man and two bullocks were discovered in an upright position not many feet below the surface, they evidently having been overwhelmed whilst crossing this portion of the road over the marsh, and sinking into the bog.[1]

Three Cathedrals Built upon the Same Site

It was hereabouts that these Early Christians built their church. Its position probably occupied what is now the middle third of the present nave of the Cathedral, and was, presumably, of sufficient distance from the edge of the marsh to allow of reasonable stability being given to the building. That the site was considered suitable and

[1] It is wonderful that Lanfranc was able to obtain a sufficient foundation for his western towers, the ominous cracks and other signs of settlement are accounted for, Lanfranc's early Norman north-west tower was taken down in 1834, and the present one, in imitation of its fellow, built, but architects and engineers of the nineteenth century could have successfully dealt with such a condition, and should have brushed aside the suggestion that it was an eyesore that the "two towers did not match."

convenient, is proved by the fact that upon this early constructed nucleus three cathedrals have been successively built and rebuilt.

Of these three cathedrals, nothing of the earliest, except possibly a few fragments of its materials, is to be found above ground. But of it an account has fortunately come down to us, written by a monk named Edmer, who had been a boy at the monastery school, afterwards a member of the convent and precentor, and an eye-witness of its destruction by fire in 1067. His account, with those of others, will be discussed in Chapter II, but we must begin our investigations by first referring to a short but highly important notice, which was written rather more than 300 years earlier by the Venerable Bede, to be found in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Church*.

The Coming of St. Austin

This work Bede probably finished about the year A.D. 730. After describing the coming of St. Austin and his company and their reception by King Ethelbert in A.D. 597, Bede goes on to describe how St. Austin obtained a building, which he had been told had been built by "faithful Romans," and "in the same place he (Austin) established a dwelling for himself and his successors." [1] This building, formerly without the walls of the Roman city, was at this time within the city by the extension of the city walls to the north.

It is likely, as before stated, that all three cathedrals occupied the same site; and the same may with reason be said with regard to "the dwelling for himself and his successors," which St. Austin established. It is not my present intention to deal with the question of St. Austin's domestic buildings, but merely to suggest that there is strong reason to believe that they occupied the same relative position with regard to his Cathedral Church with those of Lanfranc and all subsequent builders, down to the time of the dissolution of the Priory in 1540. In this connection it must be borne in mind that St. Austin was a Benedictine monk and that many of his forty companions were members of the same order, certainly all those described by Bede as "servants of God."

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xxxiii.

Abbey of Sts. Peter and Paul Built for St. Austin's Monks

For these, without doubt, the building of the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul (afterwards called St. Austin's), outside the walls of the City, was taken in hand with all convenient speed, to provide lodging and accommodation for the monks proper, as well as to provide a suitable place of sepulture for the Kings of Kent and the Archbishops.[1]

St. Saviour's Monastery Built for the Secular Clerks or "Familia" of St. Austin

For the rest, the secular clerks, the interpreters, etc., would be provided for at St. Saviour's monastery, as St. Austin came to call the Cathedral foundation which he began to build about the year A.D. 602.

It is certain that the *familia* of the Archbishop, down to the time of the Conqueror, was governed by a "Dean"; the Archbishop being, as it were, Abbot; but "Dean" practically meant "Prior" in those days. Two of these Deans were afterwards Archbishops, namely Ceolnoth in A.D. 830, and Ethelnoth in A.D. 1020. It was the last Dean, at the time of the Conquest, Henry, who took the title of Prior by order of Lanfranc,[2] by which they were afterwards known to the time of the Dissolution.

According to a letter sent by Pope Boniface IV (608–615) to King Ethelbert, it might appear that monks were introduced here as early as 615, and the St. Austin's Abbey historian, Thomas of Elmham (1414), is emphatic that monks were here in that year; but he probably made that statement on the strength of the Pope's letter.

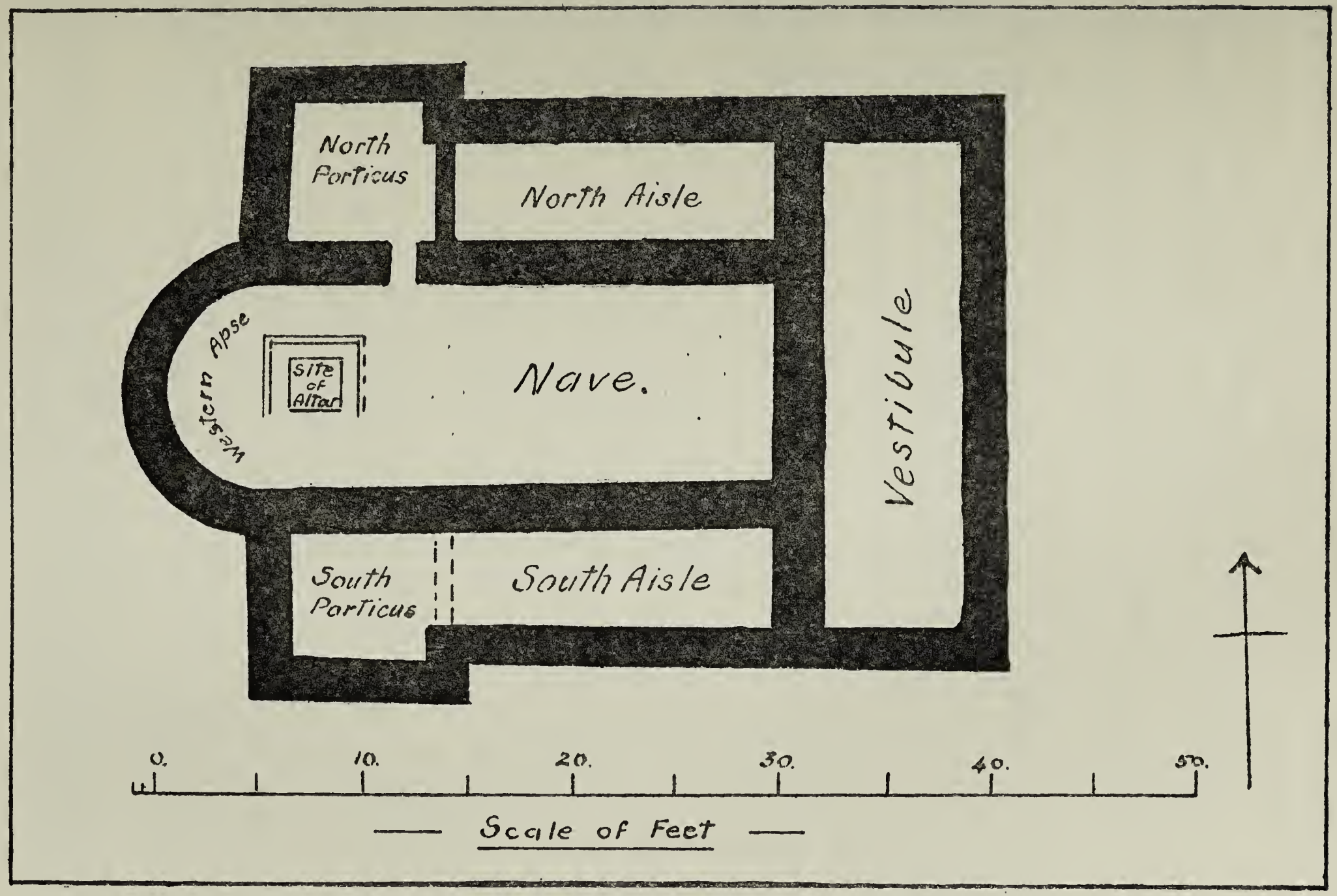
According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* monks formed the *familia* of the Archbishop till A.D. 832. In the time of Archbishop Wulfred (807–832) a pestilence is said to have carried off all the monks but five; his next successor but one, Ceolnoth, then introduced a number of secular clerics to fill their places, whom Archbishop Ethelred (871–889) is stated to have expelled, and made up the number of the monks again.

On the other hand, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that these seculars were not expelled till the time of Elfric (995–1005), and the

[1] Bede, I, xxxiii.

[2] *Chronicle of John Stone*, edited by W. G. Searle.

Chronicle of Thomas Sprott (edited by T. Hearne) records that monks were introduced on the expulsion of these seculars about 1006. All this is very confusing, but the Very Rev. J. A. Robinson, Dean of Wells, has dealt very clearly with this subject in the April number for 1926 in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, where he suggests that the statement about the plague is probably pure fiction, as the existence of a plague at this date is otherwise unrecorded; and he goes far to prove from Gregory's letters to Austin, that the arrangements suggested for the carrying on of the Mission implied a secular staff at Christ Church. There has been so much controversy over the constitution of the Archbishop's *familia* from the time of St. Austin till the Conquest, that a re-statement of the matter seems to be called for. J. M. Kemble in *The Saxons in England* says: "Probably it (Christ Church) had never been monastic from the very time of Austin," and Stubbs in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* thinks that "some kind of attenuated monasticism may possibly have survived, or that the word *Monachus* may have gone the way of *Monasterium* and have become applicable to a community of clergy living a more or less common life." The Dean of Wells shows how it was necessary after St. Austin had been consecrated Bishop, that things should be altered to meet the new conditions of a clergy with pastoral duties to perform, and that "all, whether under monastic vow or not, were to live the life of monks as far as was practicable, together with the Bishop himself." That this was probably the case is evidenced by the charter of Archbishop Wulfred (807–832) to the *familia* of Christ Church, rather more than 200 years afterwards; this is a grant dated 813, permitting the *familia* to enjoy certain houses which they themselves had built upon the re-edifying of the Monastery. Wulfred describes how in the seventh year of his Episcopacy, led by Divine and fraternal piety and the love of God, he had restored and renewed the Holy Monastery of the Church of Canterbury with the aid of the "Presbyters and Deacons and all the Clergy of the same Church serving God together," etc. These words seem quite adverse to the supposition that monks were at Christ Church at that time; and he goes on to say that though the *familia* are thereby permitted to enjoy the above, yet the having of them should not prevent their resort to the Church for prayers at the Canonical Hours, from the



PLAN OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH CHURCH AT SILCHESTER, HANTS

(After G. E. Fox and W. H. St. John Hope in "Excavations on the Site" in *Archæologia*, Vol. 53, Part 2, 1892)

common refectory for their food, nor from the common dormitory for their bed. This Charter therefore, executed at a time mid-way between the era of St. Austin and the Conquest, is of considerable interest in this connection.

The comments of Stubbs[1] in regard to this matter are worth quoting at length:

"It is to be observed that with the exception of the mention of the rule of monasterial discipline compelling the use of a common refectory and dormitory, there is no expression in the document that would lead us to consider the clergy as monastic, whilst there is much that is inconsistent with Benedictine rigour. It seems natural to conclude that the inmates of the Monastery, all of whom are spoken of as Clerks, now retained scarcely even the name of monks, and were in a condition far more resembling that of Canons."

. . . "The name of Canons as applied to Cathedral Clerks has not yet occurred in documents of English origin; and yet the custom of monachism has apparently become extinct in this, their original seat, for although the Canterbury tradition (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Anno 870) placed their extinction under the pontificate of Ceolnoth (833), they are evidently obsolete under Wulfred (813). We are unable to say whether the Cathedral Monastery at Canterbury originally contained both monks and secular priests, the latter of whom may have gradually edged out the former; or, all the inmates, clerical and lay, were monks, in which case the decay of monastic discipline proceeded from internal causes simply, but it is clear from the advice of Alcuin to the brethren (in 797) as to dress and behaviour, that the spirit of monachism, if not the name also, was rapidly vanishing; whilst the canonical rule, except so far as may be gathered from the charter of Wulfred, met with no acceptance."

There appears to be little doubt, that soon after St. Austin had built the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, the monastic element would be settled in the monastery, under the appointed Abbot; and that the community at St. Saviour's, or Christ Church, at the Cathedral would continue as a community of Clerks under the Archbishop as their Abbot, with whom they lived a common life, as it would have been an entire innovation at that time for monks to have formed the *familia* of a Cathedral Church.[2]

[1] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Vol. III, p. 576.

[2] See also Margaret Deansley, *The Familia at Christ Church, Canterbury*, 597–832, in "Essays in Mediæval History presented to T. F. Tout" (Manchester, 1925).

Saxon Invasions

It will be remembered that for about 150 years before St. Austin arrived in Britain, successive bodies of Saxons, Angles and Jutes had made descents into the country. Up to the first of these invasions, Christianity had been established in the Roman Province and elsewhere in the land; and it was only when the pagan invaders—after the Roman population had left—with fire and sword had driven the Celtic inhabitants to the western part of the Island, that Christianity had given way to Saxon heathendom. Christianity still flourished in Wales and Cornwall, and Ireland and the southern part of Scotland. In these latter countries it had mainly spread through the missionary efforts of St. Patrick and St. Ninian, but all these churches appear to have had a common origin in Gaul and to have used a liturgy based upon such common origin.

Early Churches in Roman Britain

It is in that portion of Britain which had formed part of the Roman Province that remains of Romano-British churches must be looked for; outside that boundary the buildings would be those of the ancient Celtic Church, which had been established probably at the same time and by the same missionaries, who dwelt side by side and in full communion with one another. Of the remains of this early Church in the Roman Province in the South two buildings come before us; of one at Canterbury we have documentary evidence only, though it is of a very descriptive kind; the other, of which the foundations still exist and of which plans and drawings have been made, is at Silchester (Calleva) in Hampshire. Both were undoubtedly Christian Churches, built in the Roman manner, with a plan which exhibited a vestibule or narthex at the east, an *aula* or Nave with a western Apse, and side aisles ending at the west in a porticus on either side. We have no idea of the size of the Canterbury Church, but that of Silchester was only 42 feet in length. It is probable that the Canterbury Church was larger, and though in ruins when acquired by St. Austin, was better built; for it is implied in the extant account already mentioned, that

St. Austin did not rebuild it but restored and enlarged it for his Cathedral Church, though he did not live to see it completed, as he died in A.D. 605.

We call these buildings Roman, because they occur in this part of the country over which Roman influence extended, but it must be remembered that the Christian religion did not emanate from Rome but from Jerusalem, and it is from the East that it spread, passing to Rome and North Africa as well as to Spain, Gaul and Britain. We may therefore take it as a truth that though Britain, Ireland and Scotland were probably Christianized from Gaul, yet the Christianity of Gaul is quite as likely to have proceeded from North Africa as by way of Rome, and this is the supposition adduced by Professor Baldwin Brown in *The Arts of Early England*, Vol. II, to which I am greatly indebted for these last remarks.[1]

Early Seal of the Cathedral

Before closing this chapter it would be well to draw attention to the evidence which may be rightly adduced concerning the style and appearance of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the earliest seal of the Cathedral foundation. It is attached to twelfth-century muniments, but is undoubtedly earlier, possibly of the middle of the tenth century, after Archbishop Odo had raised the walls of the Church and made other improvements, and before the fire of 1067. It is circular in form and is surrounded by the words "✠ SIGILLUM ECCLESIÆ CHRISTI." It bears within the inscription the representation of a church of peculiar form and archaic appearance; briefly, it fills up the whole of the centre of the seal from side to side, therefore representing a building of considerable length. Its altitude is lofty, with a high-pitched roof; at either end is an apsidal extension, the roofs of which are not much less in height than that of the main roof. In the midst is a tower, with a spire showing two dormers, one east and one south, surmounted by a vane; and projecting slightly from the building is a porch or lower tower, with a door beneath, and at either end are what appear to be quasi-transepts or portici also projecting slightly from the main building,

[1] Pothinus, the first bishop of Lyons, had come directly from that country (Asia Minor), bringing with him Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of Celtic Church*, p. 58.

Photo : Lander, Canterbury

EARLY SEAL OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

and situate between it and the apses; these are provided with windows, as is the building itself. There is a definite string course or set-off between the upper and lower stories extending from transept to transept.

It has been stated that seals were not used till the twelfth century in England, but there is evidence of an earlier use. Offa, King of the Mercians, granted a Charter to the Abbey of St. Denis in France A.D. 790—the seal attached is probably a forgery—Ethelwulf, A.D. 836–858, and Ethelred, A.D. 866–871, both sealed with antique gems; and the monks of Bath Abbey, about the time of the tenth century, used a seal on which was depicted the Abbey buildings. But sealing in England was not the custom at this date, it was probably attributable to foreign influences.[1]

This picture of the south front is so remarkably like the word-picture given by the eleventh-century monk Edmer, in his description of the Romano-Saxon Church, as altered by Archbishop Odo (942–960), that one is impelled to dissect the building into its possible three periods.

First, that portion to the west of the central tower, namely the western apse, the main building as high as the string course with its porticus at the west, and the site of the central tower and porch. This would correspond with the Romano-British portion of the Church.

Secondly, the eastern extension from the central tower, comprising the eastern apse, the eastern porticus and the main part of the building as high as the string course, extending from the transept to the central tower. This, together with the first portion, would represent the extension to the east and the inclusion of the old building by St. Austin as probably planned by him to form his Cathedral Church.

And, thirdly, the raising of the walls to the altitude shown on the seal, and the high pitched roof, tower and spire; the work of St. Odo in the tenth century.

These suggestions are, in the following pages, worked out in detail from Edmer's historical account of the Cathedral and may be of sufficient interest to be set out in a continuous narrative.

[1] G. Pedrick, *Monastic Seals of the Thirteenth Century*.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMANO-BRITISH AND SAXON CHURCH

A. D. 597–741

THERE are three writers to whom we are indebted for most of what is known about the building and arrangement of the Metropolitical Church down to the twelfth century—these are, the Venerable Bede already quoted, who wrote the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Church*, and died on Ascension Day, May 26, 735, to whom we owe much, and not least for the statement as to the actual origin of the building. Secondly must be named Edmer the Singer, who was a boy at the Monastic School and afterwards a monk in the establishment, and Precentor of the Cathedral. Edmer has left an account of the Saxon Church of Austin and Odo, a picture indeed of what he remembered of the Church as a boy before the fire of 1067, which burnt out and destroyed the Cathedral, the Church of St. John, and the domestic buildings, all of which Lanfranc pulled down in order to erect his own Norman Cathedral on the site. Edmer was a voluminous writer; he wrote biographies of the Archbishops in which he gives much information concerning the history of the Saxon Cathedral and the Norman one which followed it.[1] The third authority is the monk Gervase, who was a member of the Priory at the time of the mur-

[1] Edmer became the friend of St. Anselm about 1093. In 1120 he was chosen Bishop of St. Andrews, but he refused this dignity as the Scottish King would not consent to his consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose supremacy was not recognized in Scotland. Edmer remained at Canterbury, and died about January 1124. Besides the lives of the Archbishops, his best known work is the *History of his own Times from* 1066 *to* 1122. (Historia Novorum.)

Foundations of the Romano-British Church at Silchester from the West

Foundations of the Romano-British Church at Silchester from the East

der of St. Thomas, and an eye-witness of the Fire of 1174; his account of the fire and the rebuilding of the Cathedral is printed in the volume of Chronicles entitled the *Decem Scriptores*; Professor Willis, the most important and illuminating writer on the Cathedral in modern times, calls him "the most remarkable mediæval writer of Architectural History."

The Romano-British Church in Canterbury

We will follow these writers in order of their dates, using where possible their own words:

From Bede [1] we learn that St. Austin, when he had

"*regained possession, with the King's* [2] *support, of a church there* (i.e. in Canterbury) *which he had been informed had been built in that city long before by the Roman believers*, fitted and fixed there a house for himself and his successors, consecrating the Church in the name of The Holy Saviour our God and Lord Jesus Christ."

It is probable that that part of the building, which had been used originally by Christian Britons and desecrated by Pagan Saxons, was but a ruined shell when it was recovered by St. Austin. As it was from this nucleus that the Saxon Cathedral sprang it is necessary that we should try and reconstruct it, if possible, from archæological sources; this can be reasonably accomplished by assuming that it was built upon the same plan as that at Silchester, previously mentioned, which was uncovered and excavated by G. E. Fox and W. H. St. John Hope, in 1892.

Romano-British Church at Silchester

This early building was found to consist of an aisled church, only 42 feet long, of three or four bays, with an apse at its west end. Also at the west end were quasi-transepts or portici on either side, only slightly wider than the aisles. At the east end of the building was an atrium or vestibule, extending the width of the building, with entrances probably opening directly into the vestibule at the east. From the vestibule, in a westerly direction, a single entrance would open into the

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xxxiii.

[2] Ethelbert, King of Kent.

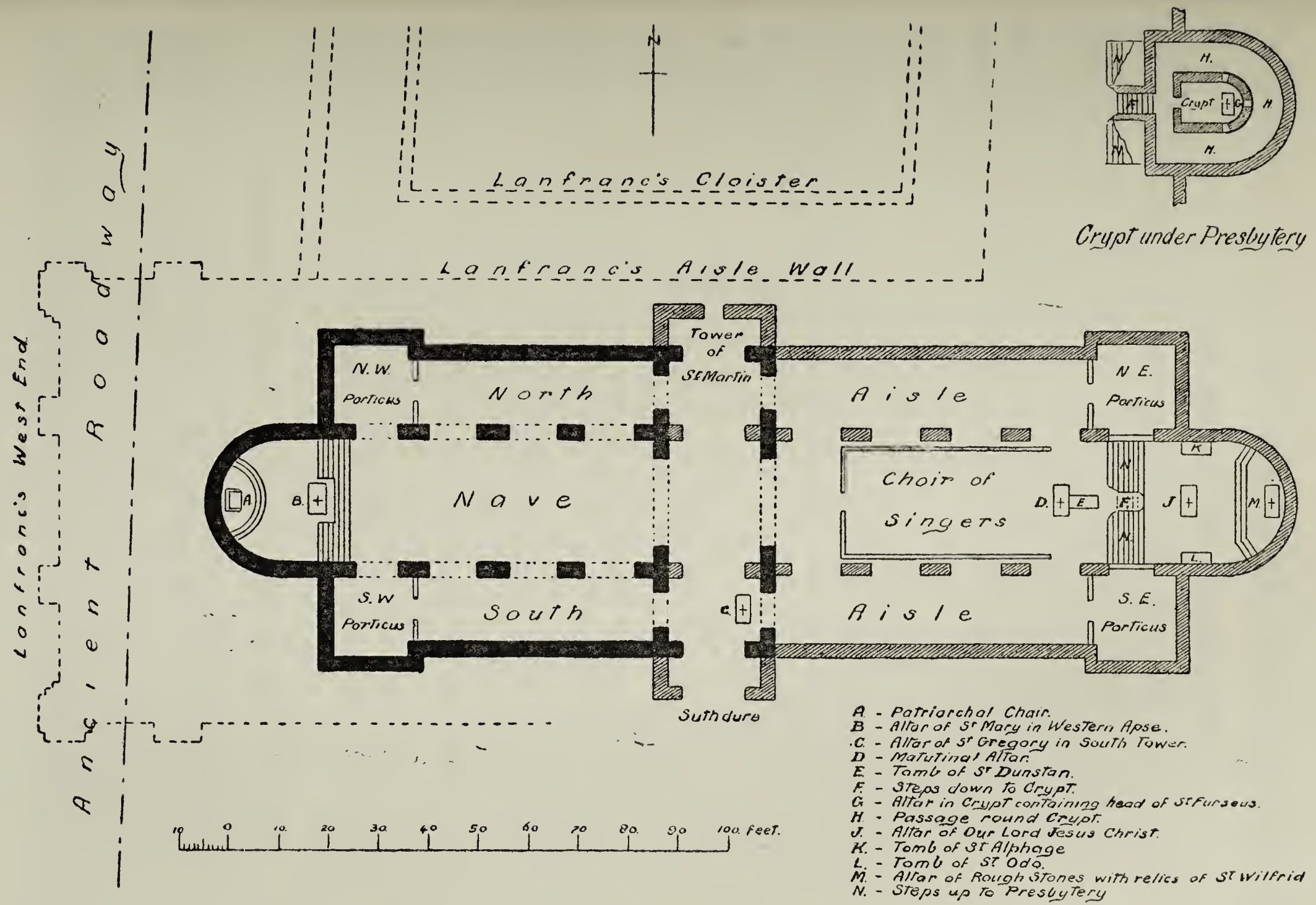
nave, on either side of which were the aisles, which extended as far as the quasi-transepts or portici, and there would be entrances opening from the vestibule north and south into the aisles. In the western apse was evidently placed the altar at which the officiating priest, when celebrating the Mass, stood facing the West, the congregation in the nave behind him also facing in the same direction—this is proved by the appearance of the floor of the apse, where the position of the altar[1] is *marked by a square panel of fine mosaic set in the coarser tessellation of the rest of the floor*; and it was the worn condition on the east side of this floor which is in marked contrast to the rest of the panel—sharp and un-worn—which drew the observant eye of the late Sir Wm. St. John Hope to this important fact.

Romano-British Church at Canterbury

The western part of the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury as described by Edmer, so resembled the plan of the excavated church at Silchester that there is little doubt that the Romano-British Church at Canterbury was built in similar form. That is, a nave with aisles; a vestibule opening to the west; quasi-transepts or portici at the west end of the nave, only slightly wider than the aisles; and a western apse containing the altar.

It was at this altar then, in this church at Durovernum (now called Canterbury), that the barbarians from the country districts and the Romanized Britons of the towns first heard the gospel preached and the Mass sung, as they, converted from Druidism or from the gods of Rome, sat side by side with the Roman Christians. This was early in the fourth century after Christ, when Christianity, now free from persecution, had crept over again from Gaul, bringing with it the Gallican Liturgy. This Liturgy was derived from that of Ephesus, the Eastern origin of which, together with certain manners and customs from the same source, became matters of controversy later on, between the remnant of the British Christians in Wales, and the Apostle of England from Rome in the person of St. Austin, in the sixth century.

[1] Wm. St. John Hope, *Proceediugs of the Society of Antiquaries*. Second Series, Vol. XXX, p. 140.



Crypt under Presbytery

CONJECTURAL PLAN OF ST. AUSTIN'S CATHEDRAL SHOWING THE ORIGINAL CHURCH AND THE ADDED PORTION
(S. H. Page, F.S.I., Ramsgate, 17–iii–1929)

THE SAXON CATHEDRAL AT CANTERBURY

Saxon, Angle and Jutish Invasions

From about the year A.D. 410, when the Romans finally left Britain, until the coming of St. Austin in A.D. 597, the country became devastated, being overrun by pagan Saxons, Angles and Jutes, fire and sword utterly destroying the civilization introduced by the Romans; the professors of Christianity were driven, as mentioned above, into the fastnesses of Wales, and the buildings devoted to Religion became derelict and in ruins.

Arrival of St. Austin

Such was the condition of affairs in ecclesiastical matters when St. Austin and his forty companions arrived from Rome and, as related by Bede, became possessed of the ruined Church in the precinct of the King's Palace at Canterbury.

The history must now be continued from Edmer's account as contained in *de Reliquiis S. Audoeni*, etc., preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and that by Gervase, *de combustione* in *Decem Scriptores*, which account is manifestly drawn from the former.

But first, it is necessary to draw attention to what Professor Willis, in his admirable *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* points out, namely, that it was the gradual acquirement of relics and the accumulation of sainted Archbishops that led to the building and enlargement of this Cathedral in the course of many centuries to its present complicated plan; and that the early writers on its building and history used language which shows that they considered provision for the repose of the Saints to be one of the principal objects for which the building was erected.

Edmer's Description of the Saxon Cathedral

To show how true these remarks of Professor Willis are, it is only needful to bring Edmer's description of the Saxon Cathedral into line with what has already been said about the Romano-British building, and to do this it is necessary to suppose that the first thing St. Austin did on obtaining possession of the old building, was to enlarge it by extending its nave towards the east for another four or five bays, and,

from the eastern wall of this new building, to project an eastern apse. In the building and arranging of his cathedral, Edmer, who had been with Archbishop Anselm to Rome and had visited the churches there, says that St. Austin *to a certain extent* arranged his church after the pattern of that of St. Peter's at Rome, a church which in fact St. Austin was well acquainted with from his long residence there. That of course was the old church of St. Peter (demolished in the sixteenth century); Edmer proceeds to give details and descriptions of the eastern extension of Austin's Church, especially his apse and crypt, which have baffled archæologists to interpret his meaning down to the present day. It must, however, be remembered, that Edmer gives his recollection of the building only as it struck him as a schoolboy, and in the attempt to unravel his description I think his words must be taken as literally as possible. The translation I have used for that part of the narrative relating to the crypt is that given by the late Sir Wm. St. John Hope in his article referred to above. (See also Appendix.)

It is to be understood therefore that this eastern apse was constructed with a crypt beneath, and a platform to form the presbytery above. There is reason to believe, although it is not mentioned by Edmer, that Austin or one of his successors built quasi-transepts or portici at the east end of his nave, after the same fashion as that which belonged to the old building at its west end. The platform, to serve as a presbytery, was approached by an ascent of several steps from the choir of the singers, which appears to have been formed in the three or four bays of the nave westward of the eastern portici or transepts; and the platform itself seems to have projected some feet in front of the apse, and so encroached into the transept. Edmer says that this particular kind of crypt upon which the presbytery was built was called by the Romans a "confessio," and that it was formed after the manner of that at St. Peter's at Rome. The vault of this crypt was raised so high above the crypt floor, that to reach the parts above (i.e. the platform) many steps were required. The wall, which supported the western diameter of the apse platform, was almost entirely occupied by *steps* leading up to the platform, except at its centre where was a space with several steps leading down to *a passage upon the western edge of which the curvature of the crypt bounded, which passage extended as far in a westerly*

direction as the resting place of the blessed Dunstan, who was afterwards buried just in front of the entrance. His tomb and grave of six feet in depth below the pavement was separated from the crypt itself by the strong masonry of the wall of steps, leading from the pavement of the transept up to the presbytery, and those leading down to the crypt itself.

The whole length of the eastern side of this wall of steps, forming the western boundary of the crypt, was built so as to form a passageway, ambulatory, or *polyandrium* (as it was called when used as a place of burial), which was continued from each end of the straight part of the passage, and was bounded by the whole of the curvature of the crypt, surrounding a small chapel within its area called the *confessio*, access to which was probably through a narrow door directly opposite the passage of entrance to the crypt beneath the steps. This passage of entrance turned directly on entering the crypt to the right and to the left, so that anyone on entering the crypt and turning to the right, would have the east side of the wall of the steps on his right and then the greater curve of the apse, and on his left the west wall of the crypt chapel or confessio, and then the lesser curve of the crypt chapel, until he had encircled the apse right round to the other side and arrived at the door of the entrance again. There was probably a small window looking from the passageway into the crypt chapel at the east end and one on either side, so that pilgrims could hear Mass and see the relic which would be exposed on the altar of the confessio through these windows, but would not be allowed into the chapel itself. The vaulting of the passageway, and of the confessio or chapel was the plain trunk-headed vault, springing not from insulated piers or supports at intervals, but from continuous parallel walls as are found in the crypts at Ripon and Hexham of the time of St. Wilfrid in the seventh century. The ashlar of Prior Ernulf (1096) covering the broken masonry which possibly formed the spandrils of the head of the three vaults may yet be seen at the west end of the present crypt unevenly separated by two of the four small columns set against the west wall of the crypt. Two of these columns, possibly part of the stone screen of the Saxon Cathedral, are of much more ancient date than the others, and one at least shows marks of fire, which would be that of 1067.[1]

[1] It is true that in the old church of St. Peter at Rome, in addition to a direct west to east passage leading to the confessio, there were also north and south entrances, from the

Relic of St. Furseus

The crypt chapel contained towards the east an altar, in which was afterwards enclosed as a relic the head of the blessed Furseus. The relic was, of course, not deposited there during St. Austin's archi-episcopate, as the saint did not die till nearly fifty years after the death of St. Austin, viz. in A.D. 650. It is indeed rather surprising to find any relic of such an one as Furseus, venerated in the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, as during his life he was rather a thorn in the flesh of the Saxon Hierarchy in Kent, he being an Irishman and deriving his orders from the despised British Church, whose members still followed the primitive tradition as to the computation of Easter, the method of making the tonsure, and the use of chrism in baptism. It was Furseus, however, and his companions who converted East Anglia to the Faith. He was of royal Irish stock, being a son of King FINTAN and had been Abbot of Tuam; he had travelled in England and France and in both countries had founded monasteries. He died in A.D. 650 and was buried in the Great Church of Peronne, where his relics have since been famous for miracles. His festival is kept on January 16. A very ancient *Life of the Saint*, of the time of Bede, exists, and Bede himself, in giving the principal events of his life, quotes it in Book III, chapter 19.[1] Amongst his miracles was that of a most remarkable vision, which appears to have been the original of Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

There is no record of how his head came to Canterbury, or by whom,

transept or nave of the church leading to the polyandrium—the curved passage which followed the inner wall of the apse—and communicating with the confessio chapel at its eastern limit, where it turned west, direct to the burial-place of the saint buried therein. Sir William St. John Hope thought that at Canterbury this method of entrance and exit extended simply from the transept close to the east wall of the church. Professor G. Baldwin Brown thought that " the two ends were joined by a straight passage forming the chord of the arc of the apse." Both these ideas are conjectural so far as Canterbury is concerned. In the text, Edmer's description has been followed closely, and as St. Peter's at Rome had a central west to east entrance to the confessio or crypt chapel, as well as a north to south passage to the polyandrium which was used as a place of burial for the Popes, and as intramural burial was forbidden in England at the time of St. Austin, it seems likely that only a central west to east means of access to the passageway and to the crypt chapel was adopted at Canterbury by St. Austin in imitation of that he had seen at St. Peter's at Rome. (See further in the Appendix).

[1] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*.

or when it was brought; Edmer merely says that it was contained in the altar of the confessio chapel "as of old time was *averred*." That it was looked upon as a most precious relic may be discovered from the way in which the monks of Christ Church preserved it through the ages. During the fire of 1067, which destroyed the Saxon Church, the relics and remains of the Archbishops and others which had been buried therein, had been removed in safety. The head of St. Furseus was apparently no longer deposited in an altar, and we do not hear of it till the fourteenth century, when according to the "Inventory of Texts and Relics" belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, made on February 2, 1315–16, and preserved in the British Museum Library under the press-mark "Galba E. iv.," it was set in a silver-gilt and enamelled case, and kept in the Great Reliquary Cupboard which was next the High Altar on the north, which cupboard occupied the site between the columns now filled by Archbishop Howley's cenotaph. There was also a relic of some dust of the head of the saint kept in a small square ivory casket secured by a copper lock, or bolt; and amongst the "Texts," i.e. Gospels, is noted a Lectional of St. Furseus, i.e. a book of lessons.

We will now leave the crypt and its passageway which, probably on account of its small size and the fact that intramural burial was forbidden, does not appear to have been used as the polyandrium of St. Peter's at Rome as a burial-place; and ascend to the presbytery which, as stated by Edmer, was built over the crypt and confessio. Its floor must have projected some feet into the eastern transept to allow of the wall of steps being built to ascend thereto, and also in imitation of that at St. Peter's at Rome, which had a similar projection. The front boundary wall, formed by the two lateral flights of steps, was divided by the descending flight of steps to the crypt, through a short tunnel as far as to the passageway. At the extreme east end of the Presbytery was placed the High Altar, "built of rough stone and mortar" close to the wall. I suggest that this altar was dedicated to the "Holy Trinity." Edmer and subsequent writers give no dedication, possibly taking it for granted that it was common knowledge. It is a fact that the eastern-most altar of the Cathedral, since the time of St. Anselm, has always been so dedicated, and the same position had always been in use at St. Austin's Abbey. Also, during the Middle Ages, the Cathedral establishment was

known as the "Priory of the Holy Trinity." Canon Delpiere, of the Diocese of Arras, informs me that votive masses to the Holy Trinity were permitted in the seventh century. How early I have been unable to ascertain, but if quite at the beginning, this would very strongly support the above suggestion. Another altar was set at a convenient distance in front of the High Altar, i.e. in the usual position in the chord of the apse; it was dedicated to Our Lord Jesus Christ, and was where the divine mysteries were celebrated daily.

Willis points out the venerable antiquity of the easternmost altar indicated by its rude construction, and suggests that the subsequent setting up of another altar for daily use seemed to show that the first was too sacred for ordinary priests, and that it was probably reserved for the use of the more exalted of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The fact that the High Altar, constructed in such an archaic and primitive manner and placed in such an unusual position, proves very definitely that the eastern extremity of the Saxon Church was not the addition of Archbishop Odo in the tenth century, as has sometimes been suggested, but was the original work of St. Austin himself or of his immediate successor.

The Choir of the Singers in St. Austin's Church extended from the quasi-transept or crossing of the eastern portici into the nave for three or four bays like that of St. Peter's at Rome; and like that was enclosed by a breast-high wall to separate it from the laity but without preventing their view of the ceremonies. It is also possible that there was a stone screen, formed by two marble columns making a triple arch, between the transept and its portici and the entrance to the choir, but this, though usual, is not mentioned by the historian. Edmer describes a third altar placed at the head of St. Dunstan's tomb, which he calls the MATUTINAL ALTAR; it was on the floor of the crossing in front of the passage leading to the ambulatory of the crypt and confessio. This, with the two other altars in the Presbytery, and one in *the midst* of the south tower, dedicated to St. Gregory, made four altars in the Church; but there was yet another dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which will now be dealt with.

It has already been noted that the Romano-British Church possessed an apse at its western end. This building, as before stated, St. Austin appears to have incorporated in his Cathedral, it becoming the west end,

or western half of his Great Church. Edmer tells us it had a platform within its apse ascended by steps only, for the purposes of a sanctuary ; in the eastern part of which an altar, hallowed in veneration of the Blessed Virgin, was placed; and that when the priest celebrated Mass at this altar, he had his face turned eastward towards the people who stood in the nave below. This was quite the contrary custom to that of the British Church, as we have seen.

Relic of St. Austroberta

This altar contained the head of the blessed virgin Austroberta as a relic (see p. 39). Behind, set in the west wall of this apse, which embraced the whole chapel, was the episcopal seat, built with decent workmanship of large stones and mortar, placed at a good distance from the Lord's Table, showing that this apse must have been of considerable size.

It now only remains to state that St. Austin seems to have used the Roman foundations of the vestibule of the Romano-British Church for the purpose of building upon them the central and porch towers of his Cathedral. The porch towers projected above the aisles and gave entrance, not only to the crossing between his choir and nave, but also to the choir and nave aisles. They were also slightly projected north and south so as to form porches; the northern gave exit to the cloister, as we are told by Edmer that "the cloister about which the clerks went was on all sides of it." This northern tower was dedicated to St. Martin, and was used by the Saxon novices, who were taught here the divine office and its variations according to the changing seasons of the year. The ground floor of the south tower was the place where legal trials were heard, and in the midst of it was the altar of St. Gregory.

NOTE ON THE GALLICAN LITURGY.

A word or two on the Liturgy used in the Romano-British or Celtic Church may be of interest. It is known as the Liturgy of St. John the Divine, and was the rite used in the Seven Churches of Asia. It appears to have been brought from Ephesus and Smyrna into Gaul at a time when Gaul and Britain were so far identified in race as to be almost one people. This was probably not long after the times of the Apostles, as internal evidence derived from statements contained in

the celebrated *Epistle of the Gallican Churches Lugdunum and Vienna*, imply that at this time, A.D. 177, there was a close and intimate connection between the Churches of Asia Minor and Gaul. Constant intercourse was kept up and many of the converts in Gaul would probably have relations in Asia Minor, as Marseilles was originally an ancient Colony of Phocæa.

The great ecclesiastical centre at this time was Lyons (Lugdunum), and in 177 Lyons and Vienna regarded Ephesus as their mother Church, and wrote that wonderful Epistle to their Asiatic brethren recounting the acts of their glorious martyrs during the terrible persecution in Gaul in the second century.

This letter was read from the altars of all the Churches in Asia Minor, and we can hardly doubt but that it was read also to all the Christians then residing in Britain, as at about this time Central and Southern Britain are believed to have received Christian missionaries from Lyons, as had France and Spain; and later on Ireland, Scotland and part of Northern Italy.

The Librarian at Karlsruhe in 1850, a Mr. E. J. Mone, collected fragments of eleven Gallican Liturgies from Palimpsest MSS., one of which he considered to have been contemporary with the issue of the *Epistle of the Gallican Churches in* 177, and one such fragment is in the possession of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. This Liturgy went out of use about the year A.D. 800, and except for fragments it was thought to have entirely disappeared; but in the seventeenth century four Gallican sacramentaries were discovered, one of which was in the Monastery of Bobbio in North Italy, and was published by Mabillon in 1687. This Monastery was founded by the Irish Missionary, St. Columbanus (540–612) who is believed to have taken a copy of the Gallican Liturgy with him from Gaul to Lombardy. The Henry Bradshaw Society in 1917–1924, published a facsimile of this Gallican Mass-Book found in this Monastery; it is entitled "*The Bobbio Missal or Sacramentarium Gallicanum*," with text and notes (MS. Paris, Lat. 13246) a copy of which is in the Cathedral Library. The Editors are of opinion from internal evidences that the home of the missal was rather towards some part of France than Italy.

Mabillon and other experts place its date somewhere in the seventh century; Dr. E. A. Lome, who edited *The Palæography of the Bobbio Missal* (H.B.S.), thinks it to be of about the eighth century, and that it was written in France. It must therefore be getting on for twelve hundred years old; it consists of 300 folios of parchment measuring $7 \times 3\frac{1}{3}$ inches, with about 22 lines to a page. The ink with which it is written is remarkable. The script is what is called majuscule in the body of the Missal, and uncial in the inserted Mass *pro princip*, which was written by another scribe. The learned editor suggests that the writer, from the shakiness of the writing, was probably suffering from illness or old age; and suggests that it was the work

of a cleric who made a copy of this service book for his own use, which from its size he probably carried about with him. The last five folios of the MS. are palimpsest; the original writing upon them is of the fifth century.

It appears to be likely that this most interesting and important MS. was written in the Monastery of Luxeuil, also a foundation of St. Columbanus in Gaul, and that it was taken to Bobbio by Abbot Bertulfus, who is known to have gone from Luxeuil to Bobbio, where he was Abbot in 639, where the MS. was found.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF CUTHBERT

A.D. 741–942

THE building above described appears to have undergone little or no change during the next 150 years. It was used as the Church of the Archbishop, but the ecclesiastical centre of gravity was to be found in the neighbouring Abbey of St. Austin and in its Church of Saints Peter and Paul. This was on account of the school set up there by Archbishop Theodore, and also, probably to a greater extent, by reason of the policy adopted on its foundation by King Ethelbert and St. Austin, that it should be the burial-place of the Kings of Kent and the Archbishops of Canterbury. All the Archbishops up to the time of Cuthbert (741–759) had been buried at St. Austin's, with the result that the Metropolitical Church possessed no tomb of a distinguished local saint to draw the attention or the devotion of the multitude; and its ambulatory and Crypt Chapel were destitute of any great attraction except for the relic, in the latter place, of the head of the Irish monk, Furseus.

It might have been thought that the particular function of a confessio was fulfilled by the possession of this relic, as its proper meaning is the vault or crypt under the High Altar which contained the relics of a saint or martyr; Cianipini and others use it to signify the grilled opening before the altar, through which, approached by a flight of steps down from the west, relics might be viewed.[1]

The Archbishop who preceded Cuthbert was Nothelm, who was a student of history. He had been a priest of the diocese of London, and had not only been the means of transmitting to the Venerable Bede

[1] Canon Livett's Report on the West Wall of the Crypt, Canterbury, 1925.

information respecting the reintroduction of Christianity into England and its settlement under St. Austin, having been taught by that most reverend Abbot of St. Austin's, Albinus, a man of great and encyclopædic learning, but had journeyed to Rome and had collected much in the way of letters, documents, etc., from the archives there, which he had copied and sent to Bede for his History. He had been quite content, when Archbishop, to allow things to continue as under his predecessors; but Cuthbert, his successor, was of a different calibre, a far-seeing and astute prelate, whose desire was to make his Church pre-eminent in the country. Here, in what was becoming the heart of the Saxon City, was the Cathedral, but its treasure was at St. Austin's. Cuthbert determined that the law prohibiting intramural burials should cease, and to that end he procured from Eadbert, King of Kent, authority that in future the bodies of the Archbishops deceased should not be buried at St. Austin's as heretofore, but at Christ Church Cathedral; to the intent that they might have their resting-place where they had, living, ruled in honour. Up to this time the Kings of Kent, the Archbishops, the religious (Gervase says monks, but they were clerks at the Cathedral), as well as the monks of the Abbey and people of the city, had been buried in the atrium or churchyard of the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, beyond the walls; for the Romans declared on first coming into England that cities were for the living and not for the dead.[1] To this end, as Edmer states, he

"Built a church on the east part of the greater church, almost touching the same, and solemnly hallowed it in honour of the blessed John Baptist. He constructed the church to this end, that

(1) baptisms might be held therein, and

(2) inquiries of Courts of Justice appointed for divers causes which were wont to be held in the Church of God for the correction of evil-doers; also

(3) that the bodies of the Archbishops might be buried in it," etc.

William Thorne, the chronicler of St. Austin's Abbey, gives us a very human account of the way in which Archbishop Cuthbert changed the policy of his predecessors. Thorne was a monk of St. Austin's at the end of the fourteenth century. He was born at Thorne in the parish of Minster in the Isle of Thanet; the Abbey possessed the manor and

[1] Gervase, *Act. Pont. Cant.* (p. 1640).

the Court House there, which had formerly been the Nunnery, known as St. Mildred's, so called after the second Abbess, who had been buried in the Church there dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, which Archbishop Cuthbert had consecrated. Thorne was possibly a relative of Abbot Nicholas Thorne (1278–1283), and he had acted as Attorney for the Abbot-Elect, William Welde, at the Papal Court in 1389.[1]

Though Thorne wrote six and a half centuries after the event, his indignation is so great in relating the circumstances that one might think that the calamity occurred in his own day.[2]

"In the year 743 Archbishop Cuthbert grieved over the destitute condition of the Church over which he ruled, for it had no great men interred within its walls, inasmuch as when an Archbishop died the body was carried to the Monastery for burial according to the decrees of the Popes. Therefore conceiving sorrow and bringing forth ungodliness, he in his wickedness carefully thought out a plan for the changing of this custom; and repairing to Eadbert, who was then King of the land, with tears streaming down his face, he with the subtlety of the serpent, laid his case before the Dove-like and harmless King, earnestly imploring him to alter the aforesaid custom of burial and to confirm the alteration by his own Royal Command. With much difficulty, and more by the aid of money than by the power of his prayers, he at length gained his desire.

"Thus it came to pass in the year of Our Lord 758 the aforesaid Archbishop Cuthbert, being attacked with heart disease, and feeling that he was about to die, realized that the time had now arrived when the trick that he had planned might at length be played off against the Church of St. Austin; and that the serpent-like birth which had been so long in the womb, might now at last be produced, even though the birth pangs brought death in their train; he was lying by himself in his own Church as the end drew near, and summoning his whole household and the monks—who were nothing loth to obey—he bound them by a solemn oath not to divulge his illness or his death, nor to give any signal thereof by the ringing of bells, nor to perform any funeral services for him, until he should have been buried several days.

"All these commands were dutifully obeyed, for not till he had been three days in the grave were the bells rung for him or tidings of his death published. On receiving the news Aldhun, Abbot of St. Austin's (748–760), came with the monks intending to convey away the Archbishop's body according to the usual custom; but when he found that he was already buried, and that the ancient custom of burial

[1] Thorne's *Chron.*, 2184.

[2] Thorne's *Chron.*, 1772.

had been altered by the King's authority he was greatly distressed, and returned to his own house feeling that he had been defrauded of his heart's desire.

"Cuthbert was succeeded by Breogwine (759), who admiring his predecessor's action in the matter followed the same sly course and obtained from the King, and as is thought from the Pope too, confirmation of this change. The same secrecy was preserved about his decease and his body was buried beside his predecessor's and not till afterwards did the bells ring out the signal for the due celebration of his funeral rites. As soon as the tidings reached St. Austin's, Jaenbert, who was then Abbot (760–762), proceeded to the Church of the Blessed Trinity with an armed band, prepared to carry off the Archbishop's body by force if not able to do so peacefully. But when he discovered that Breogwine too was already buried and that the Augustinians had been supplanted twice and must return empty-handed again, he sent repeated complaints to the Pope and appeals for the defence of the rights and liberties of his Monastery. The monks of Holy Trinity therefore, feeling the want of their Chief Pastor's support and noting the determination of Abbot Jaenbert, combined with his wisdom and prudence in all matters both ecclesiastical and secular, were afraid lest by pressing on his appeal he might re-restablish the ancient and right usage as to the burial of the Archbishops. They therefore craftily demanded that Jaenbert should become their Father and Chief Pastor, and thus the monks of St. Austin's, having lost the guidance of their father-in-God, abandoned their appeals concerning the change of the place of burial—not, however, from want of zeal, but only because of their respect for Archbishop Jaenbert; but alas, the sequel will show the extent of their loss."

It is true that Jaenbert returned to the original plan and directed that his old monastery should be his burial-place, to ensure which, Gervase says, he had himself conveyed there whilst alive; but he was the last Saxon Archbishop to be buried at St. Austin's, all his successors being buried in the Cathedral.

There are no further records of this building except notices of the burials of the Archbishops therein, till Edmer's account of the fire in 1067; in which calamity not only was the Cathedral entirely consumed but

"nearly all the monastic offices that pertained to it as well as the Church of the Blessed John Baptist, where as aforesaid the remains of the Archbishops were buried, were destroyed."

There is no picture, plan, or even representation on a seal, of this building that I know of. Professor Willis shows the Church on his

"Conjectural Plan"[1] as an octagon standing to the east of the Cathedral, connected with it by a passage leading from the south aisle. Sir Wm. St. John Hope in his article on the plan and arrangement of the first Cathedral Church of Canterbury,[2] gives a plan showing an octagon due east of the apse of the Cathedral and connected with it by an opening directly from one to the other. It must have been of considerable capacity, as ten Archbishops are known to have been buried therein; and possibly six others whose place of burial, except that it was in Christ Church, is unknown.

It is difficult to hazard an opinion as to what this Church of St. John was like, or even where it stood; except that, as Edmer says, it was built to "the east of the Great Church and nearly touching it." But here again, we must bear in mind that these words are a schoolboy's recollections and make allowances accordingly. Professor Willis emphasizes that communication with Rome was always maintained in those early centuries, and that the Saxons did indeed imitate Roman models very closely; and he points out in a Note that the baptistery of Constantine stands in a somewhat similar relative position to the Church of the Lateran, "but at a greater distance," from where he places the building at Canterbury on his conjectural plan; and also that the baptistery at St. Peter's was at the end of the North Transept. He also suggests that this baptistery was octagonal in shape.

Professor G. Baldwin Brown, in *Arts of Early England*, Vol. II, was of opinion that it was probably cruciform, as more in accordance with tradition, and as it had to serve for burials as well as baptisms and other purposes. But whatever its shape may have been, I think we have shown that Cuthbert's baptistery must have been later than the eastern apse and crypt and not, as the Professor suggests, of an earlier date.

Sir Wm. St. John Hope thought the baptistery was octagonal outside and circular within, but Edmer merely says that it was "to the east of the Great Church, and nearly touching it." What was its shape, size or style, who can tell in the absence of any record whatsoever? It is

[1] Willis, *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 27.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, April 11th, 1918, Second Series, Vol. XXX, p. 152.

in vain that attempts to solve such a mystery are made, and we must be content to leave the matter where Edmer left it.

The following is a list of the names and dates of the Archbishops who are recorded to have been buried in the Church of St. John:

The 11th.— Cuthbert, 741 to 759. He was the first to be buried therein.

The 12th.— Breogwine, 759 to 762, was buried near the body of his predecessor. "His tomb was flat, of decent workmanship, and a little raised above the pavement."

The 14th.— Athelard, 793 to 805. Offa, King of the Mercians, grants a charter to Christ Church, giving certain lands to the Monastery.

The 15th.— Wulfred, 805 to 832.

The 16th.— Feologild, 832 to 833, was Abbot of a Monastery in Kent; possibly he was Dean of Christ Church.

The 17th.— Ceolnoth, 833 to 870.

The 18th.— Ethelred, 870 to 890.

The 19th.— Plegmund, 890 to 914, journeyed to Rome and bought the blessed Martyr Blasius for a great sum of gold and silver. He brought the body with him when he returned to Canterbury, and placed it there in Christ Church (Gervase).

The 20th.— Athelm, 914 to 923. Had been a monk of Glastonbury and afterwards Bishop of Wells.

The 21st.— Wulfhelm, 923 to 942. He crowned King Athelstan in 924 at Kingston-on-Thames in the Market-place, upon the King's stone which is still to be seen there.

The following Archbishops are recorded as being buried in the Cathedral itself:

The 22nd.—Odo (the Good), 942 to 960, was buried on the south of the altar of Christ in the chord of the apse in the Saxon Cathedral.

The 23rd.— Dunstan, 960 to 988, was buried in the middle of the transept in a pyramidal tomb in front of the steps leading up

to the apse in the Saxon Cathedral with the matutinal altar at his head.

The 24th.— Ethelgar, 988 to 990. Had been Abbot of Newminster (Hyde Abbey), and afterwards was Bishop of Selsey.

The 25th.— Sigeric (or Siricius), 990 to 995. Had been Abbot of Glastonbury, and then Bishop of Ramsbury.

The 26th.— Elfric, 995 to 1005, was buried first at Abingdon, but afterwards translated to Christ Church Cathedral.

The 28th.— Livingus (or Lyfing), 1013 to 1020. Had been Bishop of Wells.

The 29th.— Ethelnoth (or Egelnoth), 1020 to 1038. "He restored the Church of Canterbury to its former dignity" (Gervase)—not the building, but the influence and importance of the See. Canute had given his crown of gold which was kept at the head of the Great Cross in the Nave, and Emma his queen bought from the Bishop of Beneventum the arm-bone of St. Bartholomew for a large sum of money which she presented to the Church (Edmer).

The 30th.— Eadsige, 1038 to 1050. Had been a Chaplain to King Canute, and afterwards was a monk of Folkestone and Bishop of St. Martin's, Canterbury, in 1035; was translated to the Archbishopric in 1038.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF ST. ODO

A. D. 942-961

FROM the time of Cuthbert (741) to the advent of St. Odo (942) the Cathedral appears to have remained much in the same condition as when finished by St. Austin or his immediate successor, except that during the intervening 200 years much decay had set in, so that when St. Odo arrived at his Metropolitical City, he found the roof of his Cathedral absolutely rotten from age and resting on half-shattered timbers. We learn all this from Edmer, and also that this Archbishop was desirous of raising the walls of the church to a greater height, and took advantage of the extensive reparations required to do so. He therefore had the roof wholly removed and the walls raised. Edmer does not say to what height, he merely states the fact; but as the work occupied three years to effect completion, it is likely that they were raised to a considerable height, and possibly other improvements and enlargements were effected at the same time. The prolonged work gave occasion for the performance of a miracle, for during the whole time of the re-building no rain fell in the City of Canterbury, though the surrounding fields and orchards were rained upon as usual, the Archbishop having prayed to Heaven that the work should not be delayed nor the clergy and people prevented from attending the services of the Church, by reason of any inclemency of the weather.

The possible enlargement above mentioned is suggested by the late Sir Wm. St. John Hope [1] to have been the formation of an eastern transept to St. Austin's Church by an extension of the easternmost

[1] Op. cit.

bay of the Saxon Church to the north and south, by removing the existing outside walls of the portici and extending the area to the required distance. This would afford more space for the exhibition of relics which had evidently been accumulating during the rule of the preceding twenty-one Archbishops.

Sir Wm. St. John Hope was of opinion that this new transept was as long as the one built upon its site by Lanfranc, rather more than a hundred years afterwards; which was 127 feet long and 31½ feet wide, practically the length and width of the present western transepts of the Cathedral.

Edmer tells the story of how St. Odo visited the deserted and ruined church of Ripon, which had been founded by St. Wilfrid; and where the saint had been buried in 709, over two hundred years earlier. Odo reverently removed his bones and dust (leaving, however, some portion of the remains so that the place Wilfrid had loved above all others should not be wholly deprived of them), and brought the rest to Canterbury, where they were deposited in the altar consecrated to the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ. This, it will be remembered, was the altar set in the chord of the eastern apse upon the platform forming the Sanctuary; but later on in his account Edmer corrects this and says that the relics of St. Wilfrid were placed behind the Great (High) Altar which was built against the eastern wall of the apse, which he described as having been built of rough stones and cement, and having the altar of Christ set before it.

At Christ Church, the Festival of St. Wilfrid was kept on October 12, as a Black Letter Day. He is mentioned in the Christ Church Kalendar in the Monastic Register K, ff. 19 and 20 [1] and in the Canterbury Martyrology,[2] and also in Hollingbourne's Psalter in Lambeth Palace,[3] written by John Hollingbourne, a monk of Christ Church in the thirteenth century. He was for a time *Bishop* of York (not Archbishop) and afterwards of Hexham. He is mentioned by name in the thirteenth-century Collect used at Christ Church entitled *De Reliquiis* (see page 57) and the sacrist paid for extra music (pro sonitu), or music and bellringing, on his Day, the sum of iij*d.*

[1] Christ Church, Canterbury, MSS.
[2] Brit. Mus. Arundel MS., 68.
[3] Lambeth MSS., 558.

THE SAXON CATHEDRAL AT CANTERBURY

Prefixed to "The Short Life," etc., of the Blessed Wilfrid, in the British Museum,[1] is the letter of Archbishop Odo concerning the translation of the relics to within the ambit of the Metropolitical Church.

St. Wilfrid was well known at Canterbury. His life was written by Eddius Stephanus, the Precentor of the Cathedral Church, before Bede wrote his; and a life was written by Edmer also. This Bishop and Confessor was of Northumbria; he had been educated at Lindisfarne, and had also studied at Canterbury, where he learnt the Roman version of the Psalter, before which time, in the north, he had been accustomed to that of St. Jerome. He had travelled in France and Italy. He was Bishop of York from 669 to 678, and again from 686 to 692, Bishop of Leicester 692 to 705, and of Hexham in 705. He had been consecrated at Compiègne, by Agilbert of Paris, assisted by eleven other bishops[2]; and died April 24, 709, at Oundle in Northamptonshire, and was buried in the Church of St. Peter at Ripon, which, with the monastery, was afterwards destroyed by Edred's army in the wars.

When the Saxon Church at Canterbury was destroyed by fire in 1067, and the old High Altar taken down, the body of St. Wilfrid was found and placed in a coffer (scrinium), but after some years the brethren became of opinion that it ought to have a more permanent resting-place, and accordingly a sepulchre was prepared for it on the north side of an altar in which it was reverently enclosed on the Fourth Ides of October (October 12), above the vault of the north transept.[3] On the completion of the New Choir by Ernulf, the tomb was transferred to the north side of the altar of the Holy Trinity in the rectangular chapel at the extreme east end of St. Anselm's Church; and after the fire of 1174 it was again transferred to the north side of the altar of the Holy Trinity, in the newly built round chapel called the Corona, where the Crown or tonsure of St. Thomas was kept in a silver reliquary. The site of the tomb of St. Wilfrid is still marked by a step beneath the window with sunk quatrefoils on its face within this chapel.

[1] Cotton MS. Claudius A.1. [2] Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 1897.
[3] Willis, *Arch. Hist. Cant. Cath.*, p. 16.

About the same time that St. Odo brought the relics of St. Wilfrid to Canterbury, he acquired those of St. Audoen (or Owen), who had been Archbishop of Rouen and died in 686. They were first wrapped carefully in their shrouds and placed in a costly and beautiful coffer, or shrine, which he had made to contain them. St. Audoen's festival was kept at Christ Church as a Black Letter Day on August 25. He is mentioned in the Monastic Kalendar in Register K, in the *Canterbury Benedictional*,[1] and in the Kalendar in Hollingbourne's Psalter at Lambeth (see above), where his day is fixed for August 24, the same as it was kept at St. Austin's Abbey. His name appears in the thirteenth-century Collect used at Christ Church in *De Reliquiis* (see page 57) and the sacrist paid for extra music and bellringing on his Feast Day the sum of v*d*. According to the chronicler Gervase, he had an altar dedicated to him in the Cathedral, but this was after the fire of 1067, when Lanfranc's Church was enlarged by Ernulf (1096–1107). This chapel of St. Audoen was in the crypt, in the south-eastern transept beneath the Chapel of St. Gregory, now part of the Black Prince's Chantry.[2]

[1] This was a Canterbury Book of Benedictions written about 1025 by an Anglo-Saxon scribe. It does not contain a kalendar like the other MSS. mentioned in the text. It was transcribed and printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1916.

[2] Amongst the *Opuscula* of Edmer, now preserved in the College of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, is a story with the following title, " De reliquis Sancti Audoeni, et quorundam aliorum sanctorum quæ Cantuariæ in Ecclesia Domini Salvatoris habentur." In the time of King Edgar (A.D. 957) there came to England four clerks, who presented themselves at his court, and asserted that they had brought with them the body of Saint Audoen. And when the King refused to believe this, they appealed to the miraculous power which the relics possessed. Whereupon the King, thinking this to be a matter rather for ecclesiastical judgment than for his own, commanded the attendance of Archbishop Odo, and when he had succeeded in performing several miraculous cures by the contact of the relics in question, the truth of the story was no longer doubted ; the King munificently rewarded the bearers of this treasure, and committed it to the charge of the Archbishop, that it might be conveyed to Canterbury, and worthily deposited in Christ Church. As to the four clerks, they accompanied it thither, and were so pleased with the monastery that they became monks, and ended their days therein.

Capgrave in his *Chronicles of England* (edited by F. C. Hingeston in 1858 for the Rolls Series) has the above in his life of St. Audoen. In the Acta Sanctorum (Bollandists), August, Tome iv, p. 803, are some remarks on the fact that there is another entire body of St. Audoen preserved at Rouen, and detached relics of him elsewhere.

There were six altars in the Saxon Church mentioned by Edmer, and all were provided with relics in his day; at what date the earliest were brought to Canterbury Cathedral it is impossible to say now, but the first notice we have is that of Archbishop Plegmund (890–914) who, it is said,

"journeyed to Rome and bought the blessed martyr Blasius for a great sum of gold and silver. He brought the body with him when he returned to Canterbury and placed it there in Christ Church" (Gervase).

The Christian usage in the matter of relics dates from very early times, but it was not till after the Conversion of Constantine (307) that relics were placed under altars, nor till after the second Council of Nicea (787) that the possession of relics was necessary to the consecration of churches. Rather less than midway between these dates must have seen the birth of St. Austin, and it was probably fifty years afterwards when he was in France, he found some persons "worshipping a body which they supposed to be that of St. Sixtus." He wrote to Rome asking Gregory for some genuine relics of the martyr, who, granting his request, gave him this direction:

"The relics which you have asked for are to be buried by themselves, that the place in which the aforesaid body lies may be altogether closed up, and the people not suffered to desert the certain and worship the uncertain." [1]

This advice was given on account of certain spurious relics which from the beginning of the fifth century had fraudulently begun to be practised upon the people.[2] Constantine had been the first who ventured to move the bodies of saints, contrary to the spirit of the Ante-Nicene Church, and within five hundred years afterwards we find the practice universal. It must be left a matter of uncertainty in view of absolutely no evidence whatever existing as to when the relics mentioned by Edmer were placed in the altars of the Saxon Church, or from whence they were obtained.

St. Wilfrid (709) and St. Audoen (640) have been mentioned (see pp. 33, 34 and 35); it now remains to notice those probably acquired

[1] Gre. M. Epist. xii. 31.
[2] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities,* Smith & Cheetham, p. 1772.

before the time of St. Odo (942), and it will be convenient to take them in chronological order:

St. Blaise, A.D. 316, already mentioned as having been bought by Archbishop Plegmund (890–914). He had been Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia and was martyred A.D. 316. His festival, according to the Bollandists, is kept on February 3; that is the date also observed by the Christ Church monks, where the entry in the Kalendar in Register K and in that of the Archdeacon of Canterbury's Black Book (a volume of about the fifteenth century) [1] gives

"$\overline{\text{Sci}}$ Blasii $\overline{\text{mr}}$ et pontificis."

He is not mentioned in the *Canterbury Benedictional* or in the Canterbury Martyrology,[2] but occurs in the St. Austin's Abbey Kalendar as a Black Letter Saint. At Christ Church his relics were venerated down to the time of the Dissolution (1540). When first brought to Canterbury no statement is made as to where the relics were deposited, but after the fire of 1067 and the rebuilding by Archbishop Lanfranc, they were placed behind the altar dedicated to him in the upper apse in the north transept, and after the fire of 1174, on the rebuilding and enlarging of the church by Prior Ernulf, the shrine of St. Blaise,[3] perhaps because it contained the oldest of the relics preserved in Christ Church, occupied a place of honour behind the High Altar. It was probably set on a beam over this altar, as in Register Q, ff. 26vo. and 27ro., in the account of Archbishop Winchelsea's enthronization in 1294, it is stated that during the ceremony, the Archbishop, the Prior, and the Ministers of the Altar, made a station behind the High Altar, under the shrine of St. Blaise, before the marble chair (of the Archbishop then placed at the top of the steps where the High Altar now is); then turned towards the east, and eight monks alternately sang the song *Benedictus* under the shrine of St. Blaise before the Archbishop sitting in his chair. In 1315, in the time of Prior Eastry, the head of St. Blaise was kept in a silver and gilt reliquary. There was also a bone of St. Blaise kept in a *filacterio* (a reliquary that could be hung up

[1] Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS.; Archdeacon of Canterbury's Black Book; Cabinet in XYZ.
[2] Brit. Mus. Arundel MS. 68.
[3] *Inventories of Canty. Cathl.*, Legg & Hope, p. 35.

with a cord) of copper gilt, without gems, but with a large round crystal, through which the relic might be viewed.

Also some of the bones of this saint were kept in a large white box of wood; in a small cupboard (armariolo) behind the High Altar near his shrine, was kept the canola, or silver tube containing a relic; and in a large ivory horn hanging from the beam behind the High Altar was a bone of the saint. A tooth was also kept in a reliquary in the form of a cross of gold belonging to Archbishop Stephen Langton, with a ruby in its head and two emeralds at the sides.

The shrine of St. Blaise, the coffer and bones, etc., if not destroyed at the despoiling of the shrine of St. Thomas in the time of Henry VIII (1538), more probably disappeared under the injunctions issued by Edward VI in 1547.

St. Blaise was the Armenian Bishop who was martyred in the persecution of Licinius by command of Agricolaus, the Governor of Cappadocia; the miracles which were effected by the veneration of his relics were mostly the cure of sore throats. There is a legend that St. Blaise cured a boy at the point of death from choking owing to swallowing a fish bone, by praying and touching his throat. In Roman Catholic churches, on February 3, is still observed the custom of blessing the throats, and the prayer certainly dating from the thirteenth century, is used: "Through the intercession of St. Blaise, Bishop and Martyr, may the Lord deliver thee from all evil of the throat, through Christ Our Lord, Amen." He is the titular Patron of the Woolcombers, and his day is still kept at Norwich amongst the fraternity.

St. Furseus, A.D. 650 (see page 19), has already been mentioned as the son of the Irish King Fintan. He was of the seventh century, and was first abbot of a monastery in the diocese of Tuam, where now stands the Church of Kill-fursa (Colgan). His two brothers, Folian and Ultan, were both known as saints; with them he travelled through England, and with the help of King Sigibert he founded the Abbey of Cnobbersbury, now Burgh-castle in Suffolk. He then went to France, where with the assistance of the French King, Clovis II, he founded the monastery of Lagny on the Marne. He acted as Deputy to the Bishop of Paris, and has thus been thought to be a Bishop. He died in A.D. 650, whilst building another monastery at Peronne.

At Canterbury his festival was kept on January 16, as a Red Letter Day. His name occurs in the Christ Church Kalendar in Register K, and in that in the Archdeacon's Black Book. Also in the Canterbury Martyrology, and in Hollingbourne's Psalter.

St. Austroberta, A.D. 704, had been Abbess of Pavilly (Pauliacencis) in Caux, in Normandy. The Church of Pavilly has a chapel of St. Austroberta, and there is a hamlet of St. Austroberta a few miles north of the town. This sainted virgin, according to the *Martiloge*, was of the territory of Rone-Rouen. Her festival was kept at Christ Church on February 10 as a Red Letter Day and occurs in the Kalendar in Register K, in the *Canterbury Benedictional*, and in Hollingbourne's Psalter. Her relics are preserved at the Church of St. Audomar in Rouen except the head, which was placed in the Altar of Our Lady in the Western apse in the Saxon Cathedral (see page 22). Afterwards in the time of Prior Henry of Eastry, it is found in a silver-gilt and enamelled reliquary, which was kept in the great reliquary cupboard next to the High Altar.[1] At the time of the Dissolution this relic probably went the way of the rest, the silver-gilt container to the King's use, and the contents buried.

[1] Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS. Galba E. iv.

CHAPTER V

ST. BREOGWINE, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR, AUGUST 25

A. D. 759–765

THERE are early lives of St. Breogwine in *Anglia Sacra* by Edmer, the Precentor and Historian of Christ Church; and by Osborn, also Precentor and afterwards Sub-Prior of Christ Church. There is a life also in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Bollandists) under date August 25.

Breogwine was by birth a Saxon of Old Saxony in Germany, and born of noble parents. As a youth he had travelled much, and came to England for the purpose of study. His country had been christianized by Willibrord of Ripon, and Winfrid, or Boniface as he was called, of Crediton. These early missionaries had been joined by others of their own country, and great success attended their efforts. So much so that persons occupying high positions in Germany were accustomed to send their sons to England for the purpose of attending the schools established by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Adrian, which at this time had a reputation for learning, recognized throughout the west.

Amongst lads attending these schools was Breogwine, who was already noted for the piety of his life, his readiness to learn and his aptness to teach, in which he had great success. The writer in the *Flores Historiarum* describes him as "a prudent man and of great acquaintance with literature." On the death of Archbishop Cuthbert in 758, the king, Ethelbert II (748–760), made choice of Breogwine as the one most fitted to succeed to the Archbishopric, on account of his modesty,

integrity and great learning. He prevailed upon the Chapter of Christ Church to elect him and he therefore became the twelfth Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated on Michaelmas Day, 759, and "ascended the pontifical chair to rule this Church of God amidst the exultations of all." Ethelbert II had recognized the humility, discretion and consistency of life of the new Archbishop, as well as his great theological learning, but he died during the second year of Breogwine's archiepiscopate, and according to Edmer the Archbishop himself died the following year. There is some confusion of dates here; most historians agree that the correct date of the death of the Archbishop is four years later, viz., in 765. This is the date given by Stubbs [1] and is probably the correct one, as the Archbishop is known to have signed Charters as late as 764.

Breogwine's episcopate was absolutely and entirely uneventful. There is a mention some thirty years after his death of his having held a Synod at which complaint was made that certain land which had been granted by Ethelbald of Mercia to Christ Church had been unjustly withheld.

We have already told the story, in Chapter III, of the way in which the clergy of Christ Church outwitted the monks of St. Austin's, on the death of Breogwine (see page 28); and how, when the armed party from St. Austin's, headed by the Abbot himself, came to claim his body, they found that the Archbishop was already buried in the Church of St. John, at the east end of the Cathedral, near the body of his predecessor, Cuthbert. "His tomb was flat, of decent workmanship and a little raised above the pavement." But yet another attempt was made to abstract this saint's body from the Cathedral, though not by the Augustinians. It will be best to tell the story here, though it relates to a time 350 years afterwards—it is given at length in Edmer's "Life."

"Not long before the death of Archbishop Ralph (1114–1123) a certain Teutonic monk, named Lambert, came into England from Louvain under the patronage of the Queen of Henry I, Adelaide by name, who also belonged to that city. Lambert was staying in Canterbury, residing with the fraternity of Christ

[1] Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 1897.

Church. He constantly frequented the places where relics of the Archbishops were kept, to pray there, and to celebrate Mass before them: and was wont to ask all manner of questions as to whom this or that one had been and what might be the name of the one whose remains rested in this or that coffin; at length he conceived a vehement desire to obtain the body of St. Breogwine, and take it to his own country, intending, as he said, to found a monastery under the Saint's patronage. He had even obtained the consent of the Archbishop, and was making interest with the King through the Queen, for this purpose. The Archbishop at last thought better of the matter, and repented of his treason to Christ Church; thereupon the monk started to go to Woodstock to complain to the Queen but, on his journey, became ill and died in London. The monks at Christ Church were, however, now on their guard and to make such an attempt more difficult in future, they removed the relics of St. Breogwine and also those of Archbishop Plegmund (who had died in 914) to the south part of the Church and there decently entombed them behind the southern altar (St. Gregory's) in the South East Transept."

It is remarkable that though there were relics of this sainted Archbishop in the Cathedral, and he is mentioned in the Canterbury Martyrology,[1] his name does not occur in the thirteenth-century Kalendar to be found in Register K,[2] fol. xix., of the Cathedral records; nor is it in the Kalendar of the Archdeacon of Canterbury's Black Book,[3] which is a secular Kalendar of early fifteenth-century date. Neither is it entered in either of the kalendars to be found at Lambeth, that in the Psalter of John Hollingbourne,[4] a monk of Christ Church of the thirteenth century, nor in Archbishop Chichele's copy of the Sarum Breviary.

The relics of St. Breogwine rested behind the altar of St. Gregory, from about the year 1121 till the Dissolution.[5] They are mentioned as "Bregwyn; modo jacet in altari sancti Gregorii ex australi parte chori" in a list of relics in a manuscript of the time of Archbishop Warham preserved amongst the Parker MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 298).

[1] British Museum, Arundel MS. 68.
[2] Christ Church Cathedral MSS., Case F.I.
[3] Ch. Ch., Cant., XYZ Cabinet.
[4] Lambeth MSS., 558.
[5] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Legg and Hope, p. 60.

CHAPTER VI

ST. FEOLOGILD, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR, JUNE 9

JUNE 9, 832—AUGUST 29, 832

ST. FEOLOGILD, or Theologild, also called Swithred, was the 16th Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeding Wulfred, who died in March, A.D. 832. Feologild had formerly (in 803) been Abbot of a Kentish Monastery; possibly he had been Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, as "Abbot" was a general term in those days for the head of a religious house of either regulars or seculars. As Abbot, he witnessed several Charters during the Archiepiscopates of Athelard and Wulfred, from A.D. 803 onwards. For example, he attested the Act of the Council at Clovesho, held on October 12, 803, forbidding the election of laymen or seculars as Rulers of Monasteries, as "✠FEOLOGELD PRESBYTER ABBAS."

This document, an illustration of which is given in facsimile, is not only most interesting on account of its age—it is eleven and a quarter centuries old—but also on account of the number of those ecclesiastics who attended the Council at Clovesho. There are 90 Bishops, Abbots, Priests and Deacons in all, headed by Archbishop Athelard, whose names are recorded thereon. The Rev. William Hunt, in his *History of the English Church from 597 to 1066*, thinks that Clovesho was probably in the Mercian Dominions, and near London; but he agrees that the old opinion that Clovesho is to be identified with "Cliffe-at-Hoo" in Kent is supported by the fact of the supremacy of Mercia over Kent in the eighth century, and especially from the ecclesiastical supremacy of Canterbury, though these arguments are not altogether convincing.

The above Charter, entitled the "Decree of Archbishop Athelard concerning the Liberty of Churches," is preserved amongst the valuable and unique collection of Saxon Charters belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the Cathedral Library with the Press Mark "Chartae Antiquae C.I." (formerly C.195).

It will be noticed that the Archbishop signs first; Feologild's name is the first on the third line; next to this is the name of Wernoth, Priest, who represented St. Austin's Abbey and became its Abbot in 822; then occurs the name of Wulfrid, Archdeacon, an officer appearing for the first time in this pontificate, who succeeded Athelard as Archbishop in 805.

There are no Charters extant in which Feologild's name appears as Archbishop; but his archiepiscopate lasting only three months probably accounts for all the obscurity respecting him.

The *Saxon Chronicle* under date A.D. 829 says,

"this year died Archbishop Wulfred, and Abbot Feologild was after him chosen to the See, on the 25th April, and consecrated on Sunday, the 9th of June (Ingram alters this to the 11th). On the 13th August he was dead."

Haddon and Stubbs in *Councils and Documents* point out that June 9, 829, was not a Sunday, and that the correct date of his consecration was June 9, 832, as Wulfred his predecessor only died in March, 832. Dr. Stubbs, in his *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* gives the authority Brit. Mus. MS. Vesp. B.6 and the correct date of his death also as August 29, 832.

Archbishop Feologild was buried in the Church of St. John and rested there until the fire of 1067; after which his remains were laid by Lanfranc in a wooden coffin and placed before the altar of St. Michael on its south side in the lower apsidal chapel in the south transept. To the north side of this altar, the holy Virgin Siburgis was afterwards translated, whom the Blessed Dunstan had caused to be buried in the Saxon Church on account of her sanctity.

Later, when St. Michael's Chapel was rebuilt by Prior John Elham in 1447, the relics of St. Feologild were put in a chest or shrine and placed on the beam over the screen at the entrance to the chapel of The Holy Trinity *ad Coronam*,[1] where they remained until 1547,

[1] Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church*, p. 31.

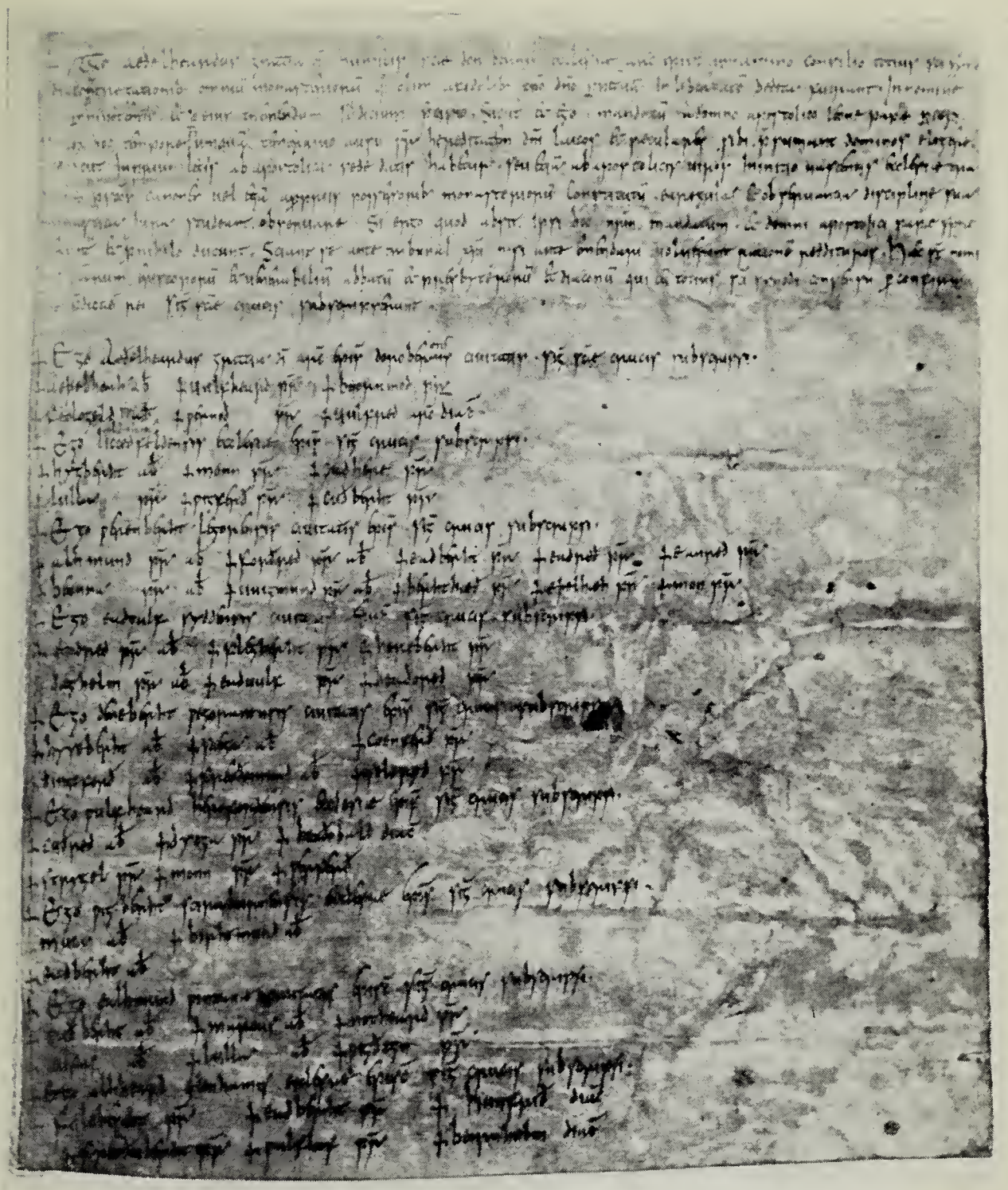


Photo : Youngman & Son, Canterbury

Charter of Archbishop Athelard, a.d. 803

when under the Injunction issued in the name of Edward VI they were probably buried beneath the pavement at this spot.

None of the extant Canterbury Kalendars contain the name of St. Feologild. His rule lasted less than three months, but the fact that he was counted a Confessor of the Faith, proves that long before he was called to administer the Southern Province, his character for holiness of life and personal piety was well known and appreciated in those far-off days, records of which are so scanty that even the chroniclers are silent regarding him.

TRANSLATION OF THE CHARTER OF ARCHBISHOP ATHELARD, A.D. 803.

✠I Athelard by the Grace of God humble Archbishop of this Holy Church of Canterbury by the unanimous advice of the whole Holy Synod to the congregations of all Monasteries which have in times past been dedicated by the Faithful in perpetual liberty to Christ Our Lord, In the Name of The Almighty God and by His Tremendous Doom, I charge, even as I have received command from the Apostolic Lord Pope Leo, that from this time forth, they shall never presume with rash attempt to elect for themselves lay or secular persons as Rulers over the inheritance of The Lord; but as it is directed in the privileges granted by the Apostolic See and also as it has been handed down by Holy Canons by Apostolic Men in the beginning of the Nascent Church or in like manner settled by the possessors of Monasteries themselves, they shall study to observe their monastic rights by that rule of observance of discipline. If therefore, which God forbid, they should spurn or hold for naught, this our own and our Apostolic Lord the Pope's command, let them know that they will have to render an account before the Judgment Seat of Christ, unless they make amends beforehand.

These are the names of the Holy Bishops and Venerable Abbots, and Priests and Deacons, who with the consent of the whole Holy Synod, have for confirmation of the aforesaid matter subscribed the sign of the Holy Cross.

Here follow the names, headed by that of the Archbishop, of 89 Bishops, Abbots, Priests and Deacons, ending thus:

"Done in the well known place which is called Clofeshoas, in the year from the Incarnation of Our Lord 803, the 11th Indiction the 4th day of the Ides of October (12th Oct. A.D. 803)."

The Decree of Archbishop Athelard concerning the Liberty of Churches.[1]

[1] *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, by Lt.-Col. L. Cameron, R.E., and W. Basevi Sanders, 1878.

CHAPTER VII

ST. PLEGMUND, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR, AUGUST 2

A.D. 890–914

PLEGMUND, the 19th Archbishop, who followed Ethelred, was a Mercian born. In his youth he had felt drawn to the life of a hermit, and became a "solitary" in what was then an island a few miles from Chester, which afterwards, on account of its having been the residence of this holy man, was called "Plegmundham," later Plemondstall, now Plemstall.

Plegmund was reckoned the most learned man of his time and afterwards became tutor to King Alfred the Great, and his Adviser when crowned.

He had been elected Archbishop according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 890, and occupied the See of Canterbury partly during the last ten years of the reign of Alfred and the first half of the reign of Edward the Elder. He went to Rome to be consecrated by Pope Formosus in 891, who gave him the pallium.

Marinus, a former pope (882–884), had shortly before granted exemption from all taxes and tolls to the Saxon School at Rome, and had sent sundry presents to the King of England, amongst them being a piece of the True Wood of the Cross upon which Our Lord suffered death. In return for these favours Plegmund, upon his return from Rome, busied himself in collecting money from all well-disposed persons to the Papal See, to which the King himself added from the Royal Treasury; this he sent to the Pope, first setting aside a part of it to be sent to Jerusalem.

ST. PLEGMUND

King Alfred had translated the "Pastoral care of Pope Gregory," a work held in great veneration in England; in the preface to this work Alfred makes mention of the Archbishop as one of his instructors in the Latin tongue, and goes on to say that he was incited to translate the work into English because the Churches which had fomerly contained numerous libraries had, together with their books, been burnt by the Danes; and that he designed to transmit the book transcribed by his order to every See with a golden style in which was a mancus of gold and that there was nothing of his own opinion inserted therein; but that everything was derived from those celebrated men Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Asser the Bishop, Grimbald and John the Priests. Archbishop Plegmund is said to have written part of the Saxon Chronicle himself; Asser was a monk of St. David's and Bishop of Sherborne, he wrote King Alfred's biography; Grimbald was Abbot of St. Omer's; and John of Corvey was a Saxon from Old Saxony, who had been invited into England by the King.[1]

In 901 King Alfred died and Plegmund crowned his son, Edward the Elder, at Kingston-on-Thames. In 908 he consecrated the new Cathedral of Winchester. He aso made a second journey to Rome that year to regularize his own consecration and to obtain sanction to subdivide the sees of Wessex. On his return he brought with him the relics of the Blessed Martyr Blasius (see pp. 37 and 38), which he had bought for a great sum of gold and silver and placed them in his Cathedral Church.[2]

The most memorable action of the Archbishop was the consecration of seven Bishops in one day; that was in the year 909.

William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum*, states that this took place in 904, and that it was occasioned by the whole of Wessex having been without any bishop for seven years on account of the continual state of warfare in the country. This coming to the knowledge of the Pope, Sergius III (904–911) (though Malmesbury calls him Formosus, who had died in 896), he is supposed to have threatened to send an excommunication against the King for his laxity in failing to appoint Bishops.

Plegmund is stated by Malmesbury to have thereupon called a

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*. [2] Gervase, *Act. Pont. Cant.*, p. 1644.

Convocation of his clergy, wherein it was ordered that instead of only one Bishop at Winchester and another at Sherborne, there should be an additional one at Wells in Somerset, another at Crediton in Devonshire, and another at St. Petrocks in Cornwall; and he even gives their names, anticipating the fact by five years. This statement is also found in a MS.[1] which was given to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric, who died in 1073; but there seems to be a great deal of apocryphal matter mixed up with the story, and it has been rejected by all ecclesiastical writers.

Dr. Stubbs has presented very skilfully the facts of the Consecration of the Seven Bishops in Canterbury Cathedral in his *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (1897), p. 23. It was the year 909 that saw the subdivision of the West Saxon Sees; Edward the Elder in that year divided the diocese of Winchester into two, and probably the rest of Wessex was split up at the same time, for from this date the Sees of Ramsbury (for Wilts and Berks), Wells and Crediton begin. Dr. Stubbs does not think that there is any special improbability of the consecration of seven bishops, though he thinks it unwise to risk a positive identification of those consecrated as given in the Leofric Missal and mentioned by William of Malmesbury. But he gives a list of those consecrated by Plegmund in 909, and also the authorities and proofs for all of them save one. They are

Winchester	Frithstan
Ramsbury	Ethelstan
Selsey	Beornage
Wells	Athelm (translated to Canterbury 914)
Crediton	Eadulph
Sherborne	Waerstan
Dorchester	Ceolwulf

Dr. Stubbs, in his edition of the *Gesta Regum* in the Rolls Series, gives an explanation of this curious tangle. He states that the ordinations of the Pope Formosus were annulled in 897. This of course affected the consecration of Archbishop Plegmund, who was consecrated by

[1] Bodley, 579.

him. But Formosus had desired that the filling up of the vacant English sees should be expedited as early as in 904, and again in the following year, which was the date of the letter mentioned in the Leofric Missal, and evidently started the story.

Plegmund died at an advanced age on August 2, 914, and was buried in the Church of St. John, where his remains rested until the fire of 1067. On the rebuilding of the Cathedral by Lanfranc, the remains were probably placed in a vault in the north transept; but after the attempts to steal the bones of Archbishop Breogwine in 1121, the monks removed them to the altar of St. Gregory in the southernmost apse of the south-east transept, where they were placed behind the altar.

St. Plegmund's name does not occur in the extant Canterbury Kalendars, but it is given in the Canterbury Martyrology [1] on August 2.

The Chronicle of John Stone, who was a monk of Christ Church in the time of Prior Molash (1427–1437), tells us that there was an image of Archbishop Plegmund, together with one of St. Odo and twelve others, placed in the choir of the Cathedral in his day. These were probably all removed under the Injunctions of Edward VI in 1547.

[1] Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. 68.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. ODO, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR, JUNE 2

A. D. 942–959

Stemmate serenus jacet hic sacer Odo severus
Moribus excellens acriter Peccata refellens
Presul et indulgens omni pietate refulgens
Ecclesie et Christi Pugil invictissimus isti
O bone nunc Christe quia sic tibi serviit isti
Celi solamen sibi des te deprecor. Amen.

(From an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library, see Weever's *Funeral Monuments*.)

ST. ODO, who immediately preceded the great Dunstan in the See of Canterbury, was the 22nd Archbishop, and the 10th of those canonized saints who occupied the patriarchal chair of St. Austin.

He was not only a Confessor of the Faith and a reformer of morals, but a great builder and restorer of his cathedral church, and as worthy to be placed amongst the eminent administrators and builders who had occupied the See as Austin or Cuthbert.

St. Odo is one of the more interesting characters which emerge at this time and his memory was justly venerated as a great Churchman and Archbishop, and continued so to be throughout the history of the Cathedral of Canterbury down to the first half of the sixteenth century; inasmuch as though his remains were translated on many occasions and were like the rest of the relics within the Cathedral probably buried beneath its tomb, yet the tomb itself was not broken

up, but appears to have found a home in the neighbouring parish church of Fordwich.

Many beautiful and interesting objects of art, including painted glass and panelling, from the Cathedral in post-Reformation days found their way to the churches of Nackington, Adisham, Eythorne and elsewhere, to say nothing of the wonderful tapestry which was alienated from Canterbury and finally went to Aix-en-Provence. As Odo was one of the Saxon builders or cathedral restorers it will be of interest to ascertain what the historians of the Archbishops of Canterbury have to say about this remarkable man concerning his birth, parentage, education and life. We shall then not be surprised to find that after his death in 961 he was buried in a most honourable position in the Cathedral, and that his relics and tomb were moved from one place of honour to another as the Cathedral grew in size and importance, till at length they found a resting-place on the south side of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, or Corona, as it was called, until under the Injunctions of Edward VI everything that was looked upon as a relic, or which had been treated with superstition, was done away with.

Bishop Godwin[1] tells us that the Archbishop was born in East Anglia. His parents were Danes of great wealth and nobility, but pagans. They were bitterly opposed to the Christian religion, so much so that the son was disinherited for merely frequenting the company of those who professed the Christian faith (Edmer). Odo was obliged to forsake his country and kindred and eventually took service with one Ethelhelm, who was attached to the court of King Edward the Elder.

It was here that Odo must have become acquainted with Queen Ediva, wife of Edward the Elder, her stepson Athelstan, and her sons Edmund and Edred, all three of whom were to become the royal and lifelong friends of the future Archbishop.

Queen Ediva was the second wife of Edward the Elder, who was a son of King Alfred (871–901). She was born quite at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century; and she died on the festival of St. Audoen (August 25) some time after 966. She was

[1] *Catalogue of Bishops of England*, by F. Godwin, 1615.

the sole heiress of an ealdorman of Kent of the name of Sigelm, a large landowner in the Hundred of Hoo, who was killed, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in fighting against the Danes in East Anglia in A.D. 905.

Queen Ediva outlived her husband and her sons, and toward the end of a happy life (she calls herself "Ediva felix") she, with the consent of King Edgar, conveyed to Christ's Church in the year of Odo's death, by a deed of gift [1] dated A.D. 961 eight Kentish manors, the title-deeds of which she placed on the High Altar of the Cathedral with her own hands. Her picture, evidently a copy of an older one, by an artist of the fifteenth century, shows her dressed in regal robes, her mantle fastened by a beautiful and enamelled morse, and round her neck a chain from which a jewel is suspended.

This picture now stands in the Chapel of St. Martin in the north-east transept of the Cathedral. On the north side of the altar in this apse her remains are interred, next to those of the Saxon Archbishop Livingus (1013–1020). Upon the wall above may be seen in a mediæval script the words "EDIVY REGINA." [2]

Queen Ediva's stepson, Athelstan, according to Florence of Worcester, was the son of Edward the Elder and of a noble lady called Ecgwyn, and was not the son of a shepherd's daughter as tradition has it. He was brought up to the Army, and had had a good education, being an excellent Latin scholar. He succeeded his father when he was thirty years of age, being crowned at Kingston in Surrey. He was a worthy follower of his father and pursued a policy which earned him the title of "Glorious Athelstan." He consolidated the kingdom and became really the first King of the English. In Canterbury he is remembered for his valuable gifts of MSS. to the Cathedral, some of which still exist. Amongst them is the MacDurnan Book of the Gospels (now in Lambeth Palace Library), which has his name inscribed in it. This book was presented to him by Maeilbrihde MacDurnan, Abbot of Armagh (888–927). It was written in the ninth, or early part of the tenth century, is famous for its text and illustrations, and

[1] Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS., Reg. J, f. 310.

[2] For an account of the *Picture of Queen Ediva*, see article on *Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 1, by Rev. C. E. Woodruff.

Edyue the good queene and noble mother,
To Ethelstane, Edmund, and Eldred,
Kinges of England: euery each after other:
To christs Church, of Canterbury did giue indeed,
Monkton, & Thorndenn, the monkes there to feede,
Sweyham, Clerue; Cudlinge, Sterland,
Eastfarleigh; and Fenham, as the heleue;
Thyrty yeres, Domd, MXXI of Christs incarnation,

Picture of Queen Ediva

may be considered as interesting as the celebrated Book of Kells, or the Lindisfarne Gospels. Athelstan also presented to Christ Church another Gospel Book, now the Cotton MS. Tiberius A 2, which is said by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[1] and also by J. O. Westwood in the *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria* (1843) to have been the book appointed by him to be used by all succeeding Kings of England at the time of their taking the Coronation Oath. It is supposed to have been written in the scriptorium in Lobbes Abbey in the diocese of Liège. On the twenty-third folio is the inscription:

✠ ODDA REX
✠ MITHILD MATER REGIS

This book was a present from Otto I of Germany, who had married Athelstan's sister; and from Mathilda, the Empress of Henry, and mother of Otto. On the verso of the twelfth folio is the beginning of the Apograph of a Charter of King Athelstan, dated A.D. 927; whereby he grants to the Church of Christ in Canterbury the land of *Folcestan super mare* where was formerly a monastery and nunnery, and where St. Eanswith was buried. It is witnessed by King Athelstan; Wulfhelm, Archbishop of Canterbury; Theodredus, Bishop of London; Alphage, Bishop of Winchester; and Odo, Bishop of Sherborne.

The oath of King Edgar (A.D. 958), reprinted from the *Reliquæ Antiquæ*,[2] where it is given from a contemporary document, is as follows:

"The writing is copied letter by letter after the writing which Dunstan, the Abbot, delivered to our Lord at Kingston, on the day on which they consecrated him King, he forbade him to give any pledge except this pledge, which he laid on Christ's Altar as the Archbishop appointed for him—

"In the name of The Holy Trinity I promise three things to Christian people, and bind myself to them: first, that I will to God's Church and to all Christian people of my realm hold true peace; the second is, that I will forbid rapine and all injustice to all classes of society; the third, that I vow and promise in all my judgments justice and mildheartedness (mercy) that the gracious and mildhearted God, through his everlasting mercy, may forgive us all, who shall live and reign."

The oath was taken by the King, his hand at the time being placed

[1] Vol. XXXIII, p. 155.

[2] Vol. II, p. 194.

upon the Book of the Gospels, laid upon the Altar; and it was ratified by the same book being immediately kissed. This practice has indeed come down to our own times; it is still used at coronations.

The Coronation Oath of King Ethelred II at Kingston in 978, at which Archbishop Dunstan officiated, is similar to the one above.

Dr. Armitage Robinson, in his Ford Lectures for 1922 on *The Times of St. Dunstan*, draws attention to another MS. stated by Wanley to have got into the British Museum Library from Christ Church, Canterbury, and supposed to have been presented to that Church by King Athelstan. It is a Gospel Book of the eighth century, now amongst the Royal MSS. as I B vii. The learned Dean thinks it belonged rather to St. Austin's Abbey, as it contains the entry of a manumission made immediately after Athelstan became King, and he points out that on the very day of his coronation Athelstan gave a Charter to the monks of St. Austin's restoring to the Abbey lands in the Isle of Thanet, which had been taken from them. It is possible that it was this book and not the above which had been used as the Book of the Gospels on which the King took the oath, and which was to be kept in future for that purpose. Possibly Archbishop Athelm borrowed the book from St. Austin's for the purpose of the Coronation, and the King gave the Charter to the monks in return for the loan of it.

Edred was the youngest son of Edward the Elder and Ediva. He succeeded to the throne on the murder of his brother Edmund in A.D. 946, and was crowned by Archbishop Odo at Kingston in Surrey. He was a young man when he succeeded his brother and the kingdom was administered by his mother, the saint-like Ediva, and her friend Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury. Edred had had to take up arms against the Northumbrians on account of their revolt, and it was then that Ripon was burnt and destroyed; peace, however, came to the country about 954, and the Danes became obedient to the Saxon king. Edred was, like his mother, a benefactor to the Church ruled by Odo. In A.D. 949 he executed the famous Canterbury Charter,[1] by which he gave the ville and monastery of Reculver, and twenty-five carrucates of land to Christ Church. This charter is also remarkable as being drawn up and written by Dunstan: "unworthy Abbot" he calls

[1] MS. Chartæ Antiquæ R. 14.

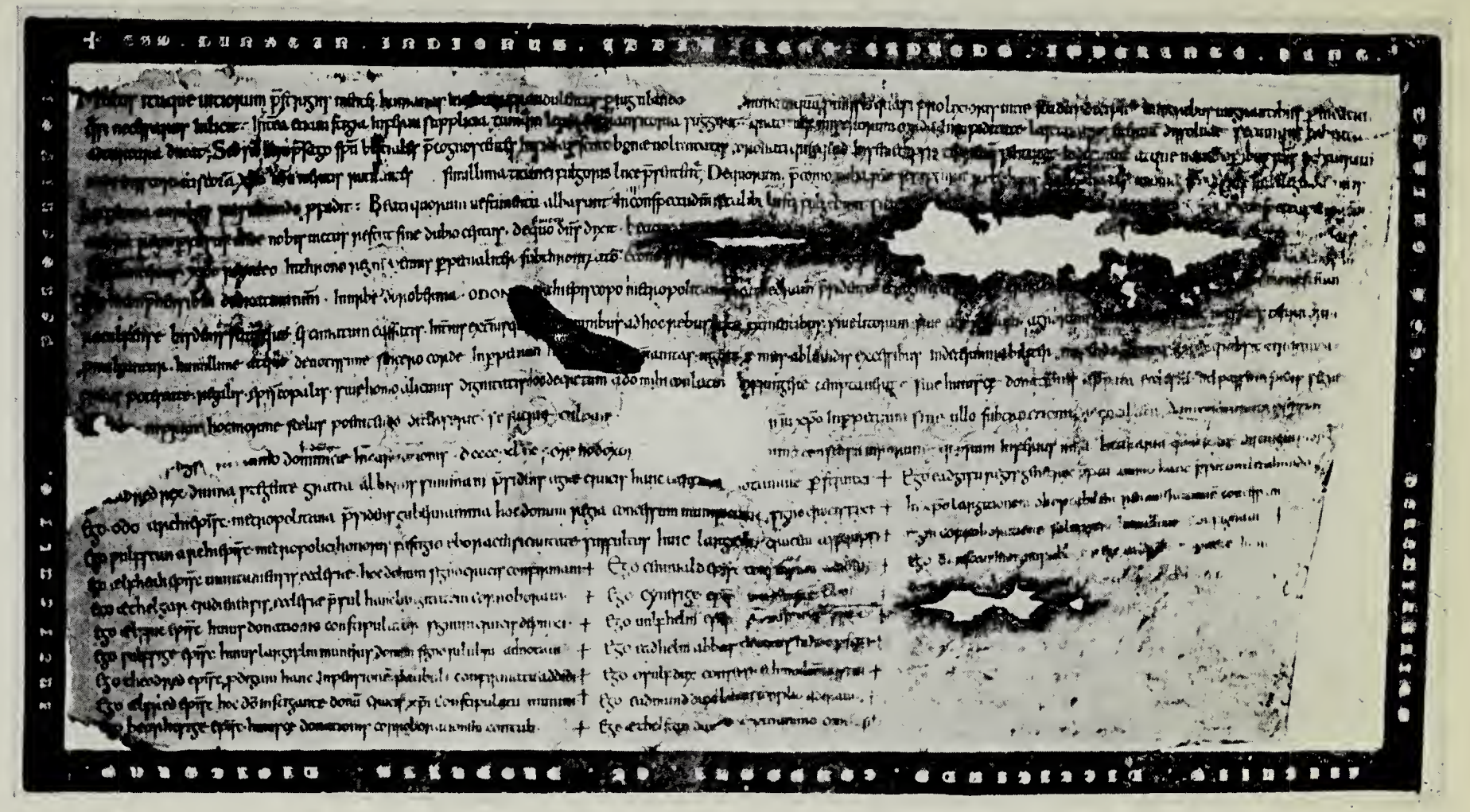


Photo : Youngman & Son, Canterbury

CHARTER OF EDRED, A.D. 949
Written by St. Dunstan. (Front)

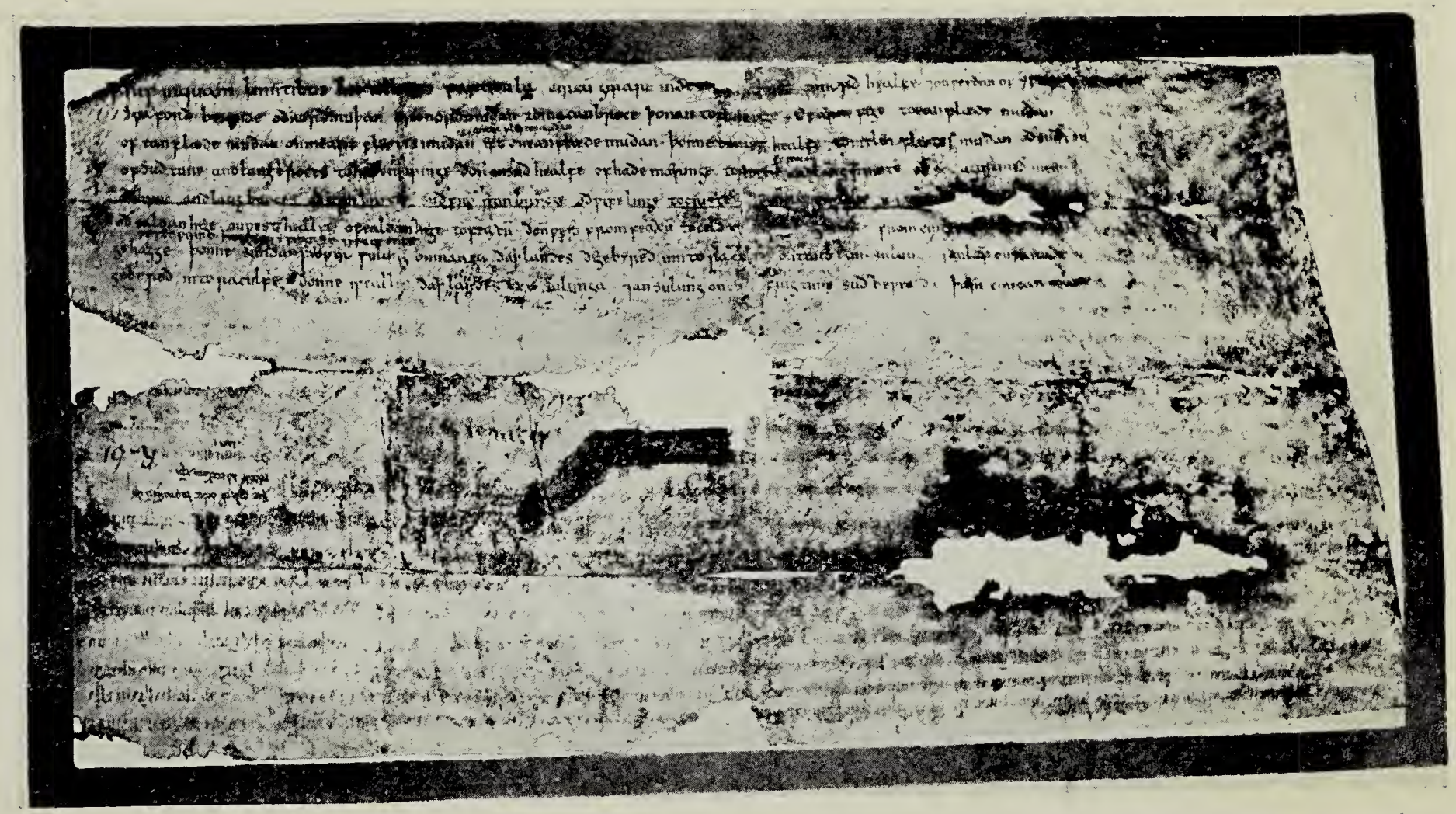


Photo : Youngman & Son, Canterbury

Charter of Edred, a.d. 949
Written by St. Dunstan. (Back)

himself, and continues "my Lord the King dictating, I have written it throughout with my own hand." The body of this interesting document is in Latin, and the lands granted are written in the Anglo-Saxon tongue: it is witnessed by King Edred; his mother, Ediva, "with a mind rejoicing in Christ"; Odo the Archbishop; Alphage the Bishop of Winchester (afterwards to be murdered by the Danes when Archbishop); Athelgar, Presul of the Church of Crediton; and many others.

Edred, like Athelstan and his brother Edmund, owed his early training in the Christian religion to his saintly mother, and in later life to Dunstan, who when the King died at Frome in Somersetshire after a brief reign of nine years buried him in the old cathedral church of Winchester.

To return to the history of Odo, whom we left at the court of Edward the Elder; Ethelhelm finding that he (Odo) was a lad of promising parts, sent him to school where he profited exceedingly, excelling in Latin and Greek (Edmer), which was taught in great perfection by successive scholars of Archbishop Theodore's school. Arriving at man's estate he was baptized, and soon after took deacon's orders, and in due course was ordained to the priesthood.

According to the chroniclers, both when he was a layman, and also after he had taken Holy Orders, Odo served in the wars and greatly distinguished himself. After he had been ordained to the priesthood he accompanied Ethelhelm to Rome, on the journey his friend fell sick of a fever but he recovered by drinking a cup of wine over which Odo had in blessing made the sign of the Cross.[1] In A.D. 927 he was nominated by King Athelstan as Bishop of Ramsbury in Wilts, being consecrated by Archbishop Wulfhelm. This see was later moved to Sherborne and afterwards to Salisbury. In A.D. 942, Athelstan being dead, Edmund, upon the death of Archbishop Wulfhelm, translated him to Canterbury. Before accepting this exalted position, Odo realizing his secular condition and feeling that no one but a professed monk should occupy the Chair of St. Austin, determined to be professed according to the Benedictine Rule. It appears that though St. Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop had introduced a reformation of the Rule into England, at this time there was not a single Religious House in England

[1] Life of St. Oswald in *Historians of York*, Rolls Series.

which carried out the Rule in its purity. Odo therefore determined to go to Fleury in France, a monastery that had been reformed by a Cluniac Abbot in 930 to be initiated, from whence he returned in 942 to Canterbury a Benedictine monk, to be installed in the Metropolitical Church. Later on, amongst his other activities as Archbishop he set himself to extend the Rule of St. Benedict throughout the English religious houses.

Odo remained Archbishop throughout the reign of Edmund, until this king's tragic death at his own table in his own hall on St. Austin's Day (August 28) in 946, when he was stabbed to the heart by a robber called Liofa; and through the reign of Edred, who died in 955. He crowned Edwig, or Edwy in 956, whose marriage with Elfgifu he pronounced incestuous, after his friend and successor Dunstan, then Abbot of Glastonbury, had had an unseemly squabble with the young king at the Coronation Banquet and had torn him from the society of his wife and mother-in-law, and had carried him back to his nobles by main force.

From this time onwards till his death in A.D. 959 Odo was engaged in the restoration of discipline amongst both the secular and religious clergy, and the establishment of a higher ideal as to morality amongst the clergy and laity alike. In the reign of King Edmund he issued a set of Constitutions[1]: these concern the Freedom of the Church; the Duties of Princes; the Office of Bishops; of Priests; of Clerics; of Monks; the prohibition of irregular marriages; of Unity and Concord in the Councils of the Church; of Fasting and the Giving of Alms; and the Payment of Tithes.

In 947 he was at Ripon when it was destroyed by Edred and his army as before mentioned, in the expedition against the Northerners, and it was then that he obtained the relics of St. Wilfrid, as Edmer tells us, and translated them to his Cathedral Church.

In 957 he consecrated Dunstan to the Bishopric of Worcester; two years later he died in the odour of sanctity on June 2, 959, being generally known as "Odo Severus" on account of the stern discipline he introduced in a time of great laxity. His friend and successor Dunstan always spoke of him as "Odo the Good"; and without doubt

[1] Brit. Mus., MS. Cotton, Vespas, A 14, f. 173 v°.—Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. I, p. 212.

he was a righteous and holy man who commanded the respect of all with whom he came in contact. His work in Canterbury has already been described, and his memory has been preserved by the observation of his Festival on June 2 as a Red Letter Day. It is noted in the Kalendar of Christ Church preserved in Register K,[1] also in the Canterbury Martyrology[2] and in that in Hollingbourne's Psalter,[3] and the sum of v*d*. was paid in 1273 by the Sacrist for extra music and bell-ringing (pro sonitu) as appears in the Sacrist's accounts for that year. I am indebted to the Rev. C. E. Woodruff for a note on the Collect used in the thirteenth century at Christ Church. It is found in a MS. with the Press Mark Y. 68, and is entitled

DE RELIQUIIS

Propiciare quesumus Domine nobis famulis tuis per sanctorum tuorum, Gregorii, Augustini, Wilfridi, Audoeni, Martini, Nicholai, Odonis et aliorum omnium quorum reliquie in ista continentur ecclesia merita gloriosa ut eorum piis intercessionibus ab omnibus semper protegamur adversis, per etc.

(Translation of above.)

O Lord, look graciously upon us Thy servants for the sake of the glorious merits of Thy saints, Gregory, Austin, Wilfrid, Audoen, Martin, Nicholas, Odo, and of all the other saints whose relics are contained in this Church, that by their pious intercessions we may be delivered from all adversities through, etc.[4]

The above Collect was probably used on the Feast Days of those saints mentioned, as the day called "The Feast of Relics" does not appear to have been observed at Canterbury. In the time of Prior William Molash (1427–1437) the image of Archbishop Odo, together with

[1] Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS., Case F.I. [2] Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. 68.

[3] Lambeth MSS., 558.

[4] Relic Sunday was the third Sunday after Midsummer Day, and was therefore a movable Feast, see N. Harris Nicolas's *Notitia Historica*; but according to the Sarum Use, the Feast of Relics was celebrated on the first Sunday after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, i.e. after July 7.

This Feast was not generally observed in the Catholic Church, nor is it at the present time. It has been the custom to keep the Festival in certain particular dioceses, e.g. in the diocese of Arras in France, where it is observed on November 5 by the recital of a particular office, and relics are on that day exposed on or near the High Altar in every church in the diocese. (Kindly communicated by the Revd. Canon Delpiere of the Diocese of Arras, Pas-de-Calais, France.)

that of Archbishop Plegmund and twelve others were placed in the choir at Christ Church,[1] where they remained till the issue of the Injunctions of King Edward VI in his first year, when all the images were cast out of the church. In the Treasurer's accounts for the year (1548–1549) there is this entry:

"for extirpating the images in the Church this year . . . . 13*s.* 4*d.*

Osbern, in his *Life of St. Dunstan*,[2] tells us of the tomb which was placed over the remains of the saint, and the story of the dove:

"Now on the day of the coming of Dunstan, the successor of Odo, to Canterbury, he was celebrating Mass at the Altar of the Saviour, when suddenly the House was covered with a cloud, and that Dove which erst was seen of John in Jordan, again appeared and hovered over him, and when the sacrifice was completed, it settled on the tomb of the Blessed Odo which was constructed in the fashion of a pyramid to the south of the Altar."

Edmer, in his *Life of Odo*, tells the same story and with regard to the particular altar at which Dunstan was celebrating, says:

"at the Altar of Our Lord and Saviour at Canterbury";

there can be little doubt therefore that the altar referred to was the one set in the chord of the apse, and not the Great Altar built of rough stones and cement which was fixed at the extreme east end of the apse against the wall. The tomb itself was raised in the form of a pyramid, and there was the miraculous appearance of a dove which settled on the tomb, an event which it was quite possible would lead in those days to the erection of the figure of a dove on the tomb itself to commemorate the miracle.

Edmer states that the bodies of the pontiffs, Cuthbert, Bregwin, and their successors (presumably those who were buried in the Church of St. John), rested undisturbed in their coffins after the fire of 1067 for three years, until Lanfranc Abbot of Caen was made Archbishop of Canterbury; when after rebuilding the Church, he brought the Saxon Archbishops into his newly founded Cathedral and placed them each in a separate wooden coffin, putting them upon a vault in the north part of the church where daily the mystery of the Sacrifice of

[1] *Stone's Chronicle*, p. 19, Searle. [2] *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, Vol. II, p. 110.

Salvation was celebrated. This was evidently the upper chapel in the north transept, dedicated to St. Blaise. At this time the choir occupied the eastern part of the nave and the transept. This is proved by a story related by Edmer that, in his time, it happened that one of the elder brethren of the Church, Alfwin the Sacrist, on the night of the festival of St. Wilfrid (October 12) was resting in a certain lofty place in the church outside the choir and before the altar of St. Blaise, above which the relics of the Blessed Wilfrid were deposited in a shrine; there as he lay between sleeping and waking he saw the choir filled with light, and angelic persons performing the service, and beheld those whose duty it was to read or sing, ascend the cochlea or winding stair (still in the north-west corner of the transept) and ask a blessing before the altar and body of the blessed man, which done, they straightway descended, returned to the choir and resumed the usual office of the church with all solemnity.

It seems that the body of St. Odo and his tomb were saved from the fire of 1067; and it is implied that they rested on the upper vault of the north transept. In about fifty years they were again translated, for in the time of St. Anselm, who had succeeded Lanfranc in 1093, the choir of the latter was taken down by Prior Ernulf (1096–1107) and rebuilt on a much larger scale. The new church was dedicated in 1130 and its eastern rectangular chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built out beyond the ambulatory surrounding the choir. The body of Odo, covered by his tomb, was placed on the south side of the altar of the Holy Trinity in this chapel, and that of St. Wilfrid on the north; to the west of them were subsequently placed the bodies of Lanfranc and Theobald respectively.

It was at this altar that St. Thomas of Canterbury was afterwards wont to say his Mass, and it was thither he was proceeding for Vespers with his *familia* on the evening of his martyrdom.

During the terrible fire of 1174 when the choir of St. Anselm was gutted, the relics and bodies of the Archbishops were removed from their chests, and the coffins from their tombs, and deposited for safety near the altar of the Holy Cross in the nave, but the bones of St. Odo and St. Wilfrid were placed temporarily beneath the shrines of St. Dunstan and St. Alphage, which were on either side of the High Altar.

On the Easter Eve of 1180, however, the rebuilt choir was taken possession of by the monks, and the body of St. Odo was finally translated to the south side of the new round chapel of the Holy Trinity, or Corona, as it is called in Canterbury, where it lay with its oolite pyramidal tomb above it. The relics of St. Wilfrid were placed on the north side of the same chapel, the position of his tomb being recognized by the sunk quatrefoils of the step beneath the north window as before mentioned.

In the Inventory of Books and Relics in Christ Church, Canterbury, 1315–1316, made during the Priorate of Henry of Eastry, occurs: "Corpus Sancti Odonis in feretro ad coronam versus austrum";[1] and a last reference is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where, amongst the Parker MSS., is one of the time of Archbishop Warham [2] wherein it is stated: "Odo modo jacet ad Coronam Sancti Thome in capella sancte Trinitatis ad dexteram."

St. Odo's dust probably still lies under the step on the south side of the Corona. His tomb may be the one in Fordwich Church, of which no early history is known save that it was removed from the west wall of that church in the eighteenth century and is now against the north wall of the aisle; it had been turned out into the churchyard, brought to a garden in Canterbury and lastly sent again to Fordwich. It is composed of oolitic limestone, its nearest early representative is Bath Stone, the carving upon it is of the time of Odo, and upon the ridge is a plug hole and a rest where might have been fitted a representation of the dove carved in stone as seen by his successor Dunstan.

[1] British Museum, Galba, E. IV.

[2] MS. 298, fol. 99 *et seq.*

CHAPTER IX

ST. DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR, MAY 19

A.D. 960–988

ST. DUNSTAN, the 23rd Archbishop of Canterbury, was born about A.D. 924 and died in 988; his period therefore corresponds to the reigns of Kings Athelstan, Edmund and Edred, sons of Edward the Elder, and Edwy, Edgar, Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred the Unready; the seven Saxon kings who occupied the throne during the last three-quarters of the tenth century.

His five Latin Biographies will be found in the Rolls Series edited by Bishop Stubbs. The first was written by a priest, who simply signed himself "B," and described himself "*vilis Saxonum indigena*." It was written soon after the death of the saint, and implies that much of its contents was related to the writer by Dunstan himself, and the rest from those scholars Dunstan had educated at his school. Twenty years afterwards another Life written by Adelard was produced; here the stories of the saint's life become "legends," and the dreams related by "B" are given as realities. In the time of Lanfranc was issued a new Life written by Osbern, the apologist for the monks, who added to it a "Book of Miracles." And, lastly, there is the Life by Edmer; followed by that of William of Malmesbury (1093–1143), who lived at Glastonbury for some considerable time and probably learnt much of his history at first hand.

From such sources as these a reliable history of the saint is possible to be obtained, but much sifting is necessary, as will be perceived later.

First, as to his birth and parentage; Dunstan was of the West of England—Somerset—he was born about A.D. 924. His father was a West Saxon noble, Heorstan by name, and his mother Kynefrida, or Kynethryth. Both were of good position in life and celebrated for their practical piety.

At an early age the lad was sent to school at Glastonbury, a monastery where the monastic rule was dead, and the inmates seculars. Here was carried on a school where not only grammar was taught but also music, painting and carving. It was here the future Archbishop learned arts and crafts, and imbibed the taste he afterwards showed for illumination, metal-work, bell-founding; and the lighter ones of playing upon the harp and other musical instruments.

The lad was apt to learn, and probably was pressed to work above his physical capacity. Being of a highly strung and nervous temperament he soon showed signs of neurotic tendencies and from dreaming dreams he began to see visions and became a somnambulist. It was at this time that his uncle, Athelm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, thinking his nephew was old enough, took him to the Court of King Athelstan, and introduced him to the King. Here he lived with companions who had no sympathy with a studious dreamy lad who passed his time in reading books in a language they did not understand, and making experiments with chemicals. He was accused of making incantations, using pagan charms, and generally dealing with the Devil; and on more than one occasion he was roughly handled so that he ran away to another uncle, Alphage (not the martyr, but called "the Bald"), who then was Bishop of Winchester.

Dunstan entered into the service of the Bishop, who was most desirous that his nephew should become a monk. The lad was opposed to the idea at first, though after the attack of a dangerous illness he seriously considered whether he had a vocation for such a life. At length on his recovery he took the vows before his uncle Alphage, and being clothed as a monk returned to Glastonbury. It was at this time that he had his first encounter with the Devil. He wished to enter the church to return thanks for his recovery and was prevented by the Devil, who had locked the door and lost the key. Dunstan ascended the roof and was seen walking about on it. The next morning he was discovered in

front of the altar asleep, and the Devil outside being kept away by an angel.

At Glastonbury he led the life of an ascetic, following the strictest rule and living in a cell 5 feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. In this tiny cell which he had built for himself, he spent his time; using it for his oratory where he prayed and wept; and for his workshop where he would work like a smith making bells and organs and all kinds of metal-work. Here again he dreamed more dreams and had more visions, he could ventriloquize and was known to have wrestled on more than one occasion with the Devil, giving rise to legends and fables which brought him into notoriety. Edmund at that time was King, having succeeded to the throne on the death of his half-brother Athelstan. Hearing of this remarkable person he sent for him to come to Court, and when he appeared, he was looked upon sometimes as a saint for his holiness and virtue, and sometimes as a wizard or conjurer who could perform miracles. Naturally he again fell into disgrace, mostly through the jealousy of certain of the courtiers and was dismissed the Court. But the King, whilst out hunting on one occasion was in imminent peril, as the stag and hounds after it had dashed over the edge of a precipitous cliff. The King's horse was following to certain death for both of them, when thinking he could not die at enmity with his friend, he vowed that if he lived he would at once be reconciled with him. A miracle occurred, the horse recovered itself and the King was saved; on his return home, he immediately sent for Dunstan, expressed his sorrow at his unchristian behaviour and desired forgiveness. The King desired St. Dunstan to ride with him, and they both rode to Glastonbury where the King, entering the church with floods of tears, prayed and gave thanks, and embracing Dunstan led him to the Abbot's seat, placed him therein, and said, "Be Abbot of this Church and whatever is lacking to the Divine Service I will supply by Royal Largess." It was at this time that the celebrated attack by, and discomfiture of, the Devil took place. Dunstan was subjected to various temptations of the Devil, being disturbed by him even when on his knees. He proved the reliability of the pious verse:

"And Satan trembles when he sees
The weakest saint upon his knees,"

for the Devil not only trembled, but bolted. He returned to the attack,

however, in different forms, sometimes as a bear, a dog, or a serpent. There is one thing, however, that the Devil cannot stand and that is contempt; on one occasion when he appeared as a *fox*, Dunstan smiled derisively and making the sign of the Cross, the Devil vanished.

Osbern is responsible for the best-known legend. It must be remembered, however, that it does not appear till about a hundred years after the saint's death; but it is worth repeating; he says:

"That Deceiving One, having taken on the deceptive form of a man, sought the cell of the young Dunstan at Glastonbury, peeped in at the window, and seeing him at work in his forge, asked him to make something for him. Meanwhile he went on talking, mixing up the name of women and evil pleasures with religion, and then again to talk of luxurious delights, so that Dunstan soon came to understand who he was. Then the strong man in Christ held his pincers forth and well heated them in the fire, blowing it up the while with his bellows, all the while confessing and calling on the name of Christ, with tightly compressed lips; when he saw that the pincers were white hot, moved by holy rage, swiftly he drew them out of the fire and seized the Monster by the nose, and with all his might tried to draw him inside, so that with fearful outcry he fled away howling 'What has this bald-headed devil done?' for Dunstan's hair, though beautiful, was thin. The next morning all the people came to ascertain what all the noise and screaming meant. But from that day, more than ever, Dunstan kept himself fully equipped for warfare, by fasting and prayer, knowing that in no other way could the fight be won."

Abbot Dunstan started his new work at Glastonbury as a reformer, evidently copying the example of his uncle, Alphage. He began building the new Church of St. Peter, and restoring the Church of St. Mary. He then started on the domestic buildings, providing all things necessary for the monks to live as monks, though it seems that seculars lived in the house as well. Most writers say that at this time, though monks lived in monasteries, yet it was not the Rule of St. Benedict that they followed, which as yet was unknown in England—apparently they took the three vows and lived a sliding kind of discipline, of which the more exalted were practically hermits; and the more lax, monks living in the world. But Dunstan's great idea was to establish a school of learning which should become famous, and in this he succeeded.

In after years when his friend and King, Edmund, was slain, it was Dunstan who carried his body to Glastonbury, and buried it there. King

Edred, who succeeded his brother, made Dunstan Keeper of his Treasure, which was kept at Glastonbury; and, as we have seen, he appointed his mother, Queen Ediva, and Dunstan as his chief advisers and rulers in the government of the country.

Dunstan seems to have had visions and experiences all through his life; on one occasion he dreamed that he journeyed to Rome and that he met there Saints Peter, Paul and Andrew, the latter of whom gave him a blow with a rod because he had refused to accept the See of Crediton when it had been offered to him by Edred in 953; on another occasion when he was bringing the body of his brother, Wulfric, who was his seneschal at Glastonbury, for burial, his hat was knocked off his head by a blow from a thrown stone, which was said to have been thrown by the Devil.

After the death of Edred in 955, when his nephew Edwy came to the throne troubles began. Edwy had taken a great dislike to him, which culminated on the occasion noticed in the account of Odo, where Dunstan compelled the young King to return to the Coronation Banquet and his guests, and to leave his wife and her mother to entertain themselves.

Bishop Godwin [1] thought that the disapproval of the young King was mainly caused by the fact that Dunstan was supposed to have bewitched the King's predecessors in favour of the monastic orders to such an extent, that they not only extorted the incomes of the married clergy, but dissipated the Royal Treasure on the foundation of monasteries, instead of using it to wage war on the common enemy of God and man, the Dane. On this account Edwy became the oppressor of the monasteries and sought to annex their treasure, which he thought he might as well do as leave it to become the plunder of the pagan Dane. Dunstan fell into disgrace and fled to France, till the death of Edwy in 959. When the whole kingdom was united under Edgar, Dunstan was recalled and received by the King with great honour. He was promoted first to the Bishopric of Worcester in 957; then in 959 was translated to London, and in 960 became Archbishop of Canterbury. It was while Dunstan was in exile in France and Flanders that he had the opportunity of studying the Rule of St. Benedict, and observing the

[1] *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, 1615.

discipline which resulted. When, however, he found secular clerks at Worcester and at Canterbury, he took no steps to remove them, but the married clergy were expelled from the cathedrals and monasteries. He did not attack the married clergy as such, but as it was uncanonical for a priest to have a wife, he was bound to put her away if he wished to continue his priestly office; if he did not, then he came under the censure of the Penitential. St. Dunstan journeyed to Rome for the pallium and it was upon his return when celebrating the Mass for the first time at the altar of our Saviour in his Cathedral Church, that the miracle of the dove appeared as before related; and he never passed by the tomb of St. Odo afterwards without bending his knee, and calling him "Odo the Good" (Osbern).

St. Dunstan sedulously devoted himself to the duties of the high office to which he had been called, he took energetic and efficient steps for the betterment of his country. He was Chief Adviser to Edgar as he had been to Edred, and the result was that the policy of Conciliation in Church and State led to a peace and unity never seen before in England. On Whit-Sunday 973, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, Archbishop of York, with a multitude of Bishops assisting, crowned Edgar at Bath, and he was declared to hold the sole sovereignty of England.

Dunstan had resigned the Abbey of Glastonbury, and the Bishoprics of Worcester and London on his promotion to Canterbury. He did not build a single monastic house in Kent, but was active in restoring and endowing churches, and indeed in every good work. He was the friend to the good, but reproved all evil; and always acted as a True Shepherd of the flock committed to his care. He made the Church the educator of the people, and the clergy the teachers; a system which, when carried out faithfully, has ever been successful. For the guidance of the latter he issued a set of canons from the study of which the character of his policy can best be gauged.

Like his King, *Edgar the Peaceful*, Dunstan encouraged the people to learn the arts of peace, and again by training the clergy in all kinds of craftsmanship, they became the instructors of the people. He ordered that sermons should be preached every Sunday and that the clergy should strive to live a more spiritual life, and to keep from hawking, dicing, and

drink, as well as from immorality, so that they might be able to rebuke the laity without incurring the charge of hypocrisy. He invented the system of putting pegs into the drinking pots so that all might know how much a man had drunk, a Peg-tankard (Derbyshire) held two quarts; the quantity between each peg was one gill (half a pint) Winchester measure, quite sufficient for one draught, the act of taking a man "down a peg or two" was therefore that of a sot, and to be avoided.

Dunstan was essentially practical, and at the same time full of sympathy for the sinner; the rich man who gave way to violent fits of anger or other deadly sin, was not just to call himself "a miserable sinner" and go on as before. Nor did he have a penance consisting of bodily mortificaton, but his pride and his soul were to be mortified, as he first had to forgive his enemy—that is the person he had injured—and then comfort those he had made sorrowful.[1] Afterwards he could redeem his penance by the building or restoration of churches, repairing foul ways, helping the poor, and freeing the slave.

As Archbishop, Dunstan was strict; on one occasion an important personage had made an illegal marriage; the Archbishop remonstrated with him, and as he took no notice, he excommunicated him. Then the noble obtained from Rome a mandate from the Pope ordering the Archbishop to lift the excommunication: this he refused to do, insisting that he would rather die than be unfaithful to his Lord.

King Edgar died in 975 and was buried at Glastonbury. At this time there arose a dispute between the regulars and seculars, and those in high positions took sides. In Mercia, the monks were turned out of the churches, and the married clergy were reinstated in their old positions; but in East Anglia the monks were supreme. In the height of this contest, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York attended a Witenagemote at Winchester, elected Edward, son of Edgar, as King and crowned him. At this meeting the question of regulars and seculars again came up, and on the demand that the monks should be expelled and seculars retained, a miracle occurred. At the upper part of the hall a rood was placed and whilst all were waiting for the decision of the Archbishop, a voice was heard coming from the Crucifix, "Let it not be so;

[1] How different was the standard of the educated heathen: *Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris.* Tacitus, *Agricola*, 42, 4.

let it not be so." The opponents of the monks were dumbfounded, and their supporters were again supreme. But the matter was not to end in this way; in 977 it cropped up again at a Witenagemote held at Kirtlington, and in the next year at Calne, where a terrible accident occurred: the Council were assembled in a large hall, when suddenly the floor gave way and all the nobles were precipitated into the vaults beneath; some were killed outright, and some were seriously injured. The Archbishop himself escaped by a miracle—his seat was just above a joist. It was many years afterwards that Osbern in his *Life of St. Dunstan* mentions these events as a manifestation of the wrath of the Almighty against the opponents of the monks.

In 978, King Edward was slain at Corfesgate by one of the servants of his stepmother. He was buried first at Wareham; and afterwards at Shaftesbury by Alfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, who had been instrumental in expelling the abbots and monks from the monasteries which had been founded by Ethelwold. He, however, did not escape the looked-for vengeance of the monks, for it is recorded that within a year "his body was eaten up by worms". The burial of the King at Shaftesbury in 980 is amongst the last recorded acts of Dunstan's life.

In 978, Thorne the chronicler[1] tells us that this year Blessed Dunstan dedicated at Canterbury the Church of the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul and St. Austin. This was the great Abbey Church without the walls of the city. He goes on to record that in 980 Abbot Elfnoth died and Siricus was elected in his stead, being blessed by the Blessed Dunstan in his church. Also that about this time St. Dunstan saw the Queen of Heaven and all the Heavenly Host, and amongst them he saw St. Adrian leading the choir in the church which Edbald the King had founded in honour of the Mother of God in A.D. 616–618.

In 984, Ethelwold the Bishop of Winchester died, and Alphage, at the request of Dunstan, was nominated to the See by Ethelred, the young King. Two years later, in 986, Ethelred invaded Rochester and laid waste the domains of the Bishop there, till with a bribe, Dunstan the Peaceful managed to induce him to desist.

After celebrating the Mass and preaching three times on Ascension

[1] Thorne's *Chronicle*, *Decem Scriptores*, Col. 1780.

Day, May 17, 988, he fell ill; and two days afterwards, "being the sabbath day, that most blessed confessor of the Lord, the Archbishop Dunstan, finished his praiseworthy course of life."[1] He sent for his household and his brethren to come to him after matins had been sung, the Eucharist was celebrated before him and he received the Viaticum. He gave thanks to God and began to sing "The Merciful and Gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous works that they ought to be had in remembrance; He hath given meat unto them that fear him" (Psalm cxi. vv. 4 and 5, Vulgate Version), with which words he expired.

He was buried before the entrance to the Confessio in the centre of the choir of the Saxon Cathedral at its east end, in a grave six feet deep beneath the pavement which he had had prepared for himself two days before his death. The grave was separated from the Saxon crypt bv the wall of steps, and it had at the head of the saint the matutinal altar. used for the daily service.

His body was deposited in a leaden coffin, and a tomb was afterwards constructed over it in the form of a large and lofty pyramid. As the chronicler Osbern says in his "Life", "by choosing so conspicuous a spot, he left a mournful and tender memorial of himself to the brethren singing in the Choir, or ascending the steps of the Altar."

After the fire of 1067, the remains of St. Dunstan were removed, and an altar and shrine erected on the south side of the High Altar in St. Anselm's church, where remains of the decoration of the shrine may yet be seen in the beautiful diapered wall of the choir screen, built by Prior Eastry in 1308.

Two of the triforium windows[2] on the north side of the choir in the Cathedral, contain roundels filled with painted glass of about the year 1200 representing scenes in the Life of St. Dunstan. Mr. Caldwell[3] thinks that these beautiful windows depicting episodes in the life of St.

[1] *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series).

[2] There are five of these windows on the north of the choir aisle and five on the south; they form a tier above the great choir windows. They were inserted by William of Sens in 1177 or 1178. The windows are broad but shallow, and have trefoiled heads; each of the three cusps of the trefoil is a segment of a circle. They are the earliest examples in England of the trefoiled arch.

[3] Mr. S. Caldwell, the artist in stained glass, of Blackfriars North, Canterbury, whose family for three generations have had the care of the Cathedral glass.

Dunstan were originally in the triforium windows on the south side of the choir where they would be looking on to the altar and shrine of St. Dunstan as they formerly existed. At the present time these windows fill the centre and westernmost triforium windows of the north aisle, next to that with the St. Alphage scenes worked in it. The centre window shows in the top roundel St. Dunstan's heavenly vision on the eve of Ascension Day at Canterbury; midnight matins was finished, and the saint was alone in the church when a multitude of the Heavenly Host burst into the church and brought him an invitation from Our Lord to spend the day with them in Heaven. He inquired who they were; they replied "We are Cherubim and Seraphim"; Dunstan answered that he must do his duty, offer the Mass, give the people their Communion and preach the Gospel—so was unable to accept the invitation.

The roundel on the left at the bottom represents the saint at Glastonbury when he had gone to the church to return thanks for his recovery from the serious illness which determined him to become a monk. He was hindered by the Devil who had locked the church door and lost the key. However, the saint ascended the roof by a ladder and got in that way with the help of an angel who placed him before the altar, where he was discovered next morning. On the outside is the Devil kept off by the angel.

The roundel on the right at the bottom shows the miracle at Calne where the enemies of the saint, mostly nobles and relations of the married clergy, met him in the large hall to discuss the question of religious *versus* secular clergy to occupy the Religious Houses and Cathedrals. Whilst waiting for the saint to speak the floor gave way and they were precipitated into the vaults below, but Dunstan and his friends whose seats were on a strong beam were unharmed.

The westernmost window also with three roundels represents the release of King Edwy from the jaws of Hell on the intercession of St. Dunstan. Osbert says that whilst St. Dunstan was at prayer the soul of Edwy was shown him by devils in the form of blackamoors. He burst into tears and prayed long and earnestly, and when he saw the blackamoors go away without the King he knew that his prayer was heard. The open jaws of Hell, Demons, and the crowned figure emerging will all be recognized in this early thirteenth-century glass; though the

window has been very cleverly made up by Mr. Caldwell from what he recovered of the old leading and glass.

The roundel on the left at the bottom seems to represent the consecration in the Saxon Cathedral of St. Dunstan as Bishop of Worcester in 957. St. Dunstan had been ordained Deacon by Alphage the Bald, Bishop of Winchester; but here the ceremony is Ordination to the Priesthood and Consecration as Bishop at the same time, as was usual in the case of those who were to be consecrated but had not yet received Priest's Orders. The consecrator is an Archbishop, certainly Odo; he wears the pallium and has a crozier in his hand. The chalice and vestments are to be delivered to the newly ordained priest; the book belongs to the consecration ceremony and was held over the neck of the person to be consecrated bishop.

The roundel on the right at the bottom represents the Archbishop with a group of men on either side of him. Mr. Caldwell thinks those on the left are the married clerks being separated from those on the right, the monks. No such incident is recorded in the life of St. Dunstan, but he sanctioned such a proceeding to Oswald of Worcester and to Ethelwold of Winchester, and it is quite likely that such a policy would be assigned to him by a thirteenth-century glass painter.

The Festival of St. Dunstan was kept at Canterbury on May 19 as a Red Letter Day, and was observed with an Octave. It is mentioned in all the Kalendars—the Commemoration was ordered by King Canute in the eleventh century; the sum of iii*s*. iv*d*. was paid by the Sacrist at the Cathedral on his Feast Day for extra music and bell-ringing (pro sonitu) in A.D. 1273, and an extra v*d*. on the day of the Octave.

The jewels and ornaments pertaining to the Altar of St. Dunstan were kept in the Middle Ages in the great cupboard that stood where Archbishop Bourchier's tomb now is on the north side of the Sanctuary. In the inventory of Prior Eastry (dated February 2, 1315–1316), now in the British Museum,[1] there were two jewelled staves, probably used on St. Dunstan's day by the Rulers of the Choir (one was a small one of silver with gems and head of ivory—the other larger, partly silver with gems and ornamented with a tooth of St. Andrew). The relics of the

[1] British Museum, Galba, E. IV.

saintly Virgin Siburgis,[1] who had been buried in the Saxon Cathedral by St. Dunstan, were deposited, after the fire of 1067, on the north side of St. Michael's altar just within the apse in the south transept of the Cathedral.

It has already been shown how St. Dunstan was translated from the Saxon Cathedral after the fire of 1067 and re-interred on the south side of the High Altar in St. Anselm's Church. After the burning of Conrad's Choir in 1174 the coffins of both St. Dunstan and St. Alphage were taken from their tombs and deposited in receptacles of a similar kind at the Altar of the Holy Cross in the Nave, which was then used as the principal altar until the new Choir was rebuilt, when they were translated again to the New Sanctuary which was used for the first time on Easter Eve 1180.[2] At this time the two Archbishops' remains were buried behind the wall or reredos of the High Altar between it and the steps leading up to the Archiepiscopal Throne.[3] St. Alphage on the north of the High Altar and St. Dunstan on the south. His body was reclothed anew in fine linen, as the original vestments were decayed, and placed in a wooden coffin, which was enclosed in a leaden one banded with iron, and then enclosed in a stone-built tomb secured with lead on the south side of the High Altar again. Here the body rested until 1508, when the monks of Glastonbury claimed to possess the relics of the saint, and the Prior of Christ Church, Thomas Goldstone, at the request of Archbishop Warham had the tomb opened and the body was found enclosed as stated above. In the coffin was a plate of lead, 8 inches long, inscribed with the name. The skull was taken out and given by the Archbishop to the Prior to be set in silver and shown as a relic. The late Sir William St. John Hope was of the opinion that the skull enclosed in silver which Erasmus says was shown to him in the Crypt, and which he thought was the head of St. Thomas, was probably this new relic of St. Dunstan.[4]

There was also an image of St. Dunstan (together with that of a Majesty of Our Lord, and of St. Alphage, with seven shrines or chests

[1] See note on the Saxon Thanet Saints at end of the Chapter.
[2] Gervase, *Opera Historica*, Rolls Series I, 22, 23.
[3] Leland's *Itinerary*, 1909 Edition, Vol. IV, p. 38.
[4] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Hope and Legg, p. 123.

covered with gold and silver and filled with the relics of saints) placed on a beam which went across the sanctuary above the High Altar, the ends of which rested on the capitals of the columns on either side, and was also supported by two wooden columns ornamented with gold and silver which were placed just behind the altar at either end of it.

On the fourth and fifth folios of John Stone's Chronicle 1457, but written in a different hand from that of the Christ Church monk, occur some interesting details concerning the furnishing of these three most important altars in the Cathedral:

a frontal for each of the 3 altars in the Choir of blue velvet embroidered with gold Archangels (to the number of 33) at a cost of 10 marks.
a set of frontals for the 3 Altars of green satin and velvet with red fringe, embroidered with gold and lined with green and red buckram.
a carpet of green with swans.
a set of curtains of green silk cloth painted with gold swans and fringed with red.
a carpet of blue with an eagle in the midst.

the green and blue frontals were in use down to the Dissolution, being mentioned in the 1540 Inventory.[1]

The Sacrist's accounts for the year 1432–1433 include a payment of "xxvj *s.* viii *d.* pro quatuor candelabris circa feretra sanctorum Dunstani et Elphegi." These were probably what we should now call standard candlesticks to stand upon the floor.[2]

Amongst the Chartae Antiquae of the Cathedral MSS. is a miscellaneous Roll of the thirteenth century containing, amongst other things, the Psalms and Collects for Saints' Days use, from which is extracted:

De Sancto Dunstano ad Vesperas et ad Laudes
V. Sacerdos Dei Dunstane pastor egregie ora pro nobis Deum
V. Ora pro nobis beate Dunstane
Ad Vesperas. Oratio. Deus qui maxime clemenciam tuam ostendis dum indignis gratiam tuam largiris presta quesumus ut qui non nostris non possumus saluari meritis Sancti Dunstani, Archipresulis ac Confessoris tui semper adjuvemur suffragiis, per, etc. etc.[3]

---

[1] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury.*
[2] *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne et De Liturgie*, 1925.
[3] Ch. Ch., Canterbury, MSS. Y 68—kindly communicated by the Rev. C. E. Woodruff.

NOTE ON THE SAXON THANET SAINTS

Who was the holy virgin SIBURGIS whom St. Dunstan (960–988) on account of her sanctity buried in the Saxon Cathedral? Who were St. FLORENTIUS and St. YMARUS? These Saxon saints of Thanet's Isle are more unknown than their brethren in the west of England, where certainly their memory would have been perpetuated in the name of a headland, a bay, a church or an abbey.

Were it not for a fifteenth-century monk and former Treasurer of St. Austin's Abbey Canterbury, one Thomas of Elmham, who wrote a history of that monastery little more than one hundred years before it was dissolved by Henry VIII, we should know nothing—not even the names—of some of these Saxon saints and heroes. As it is, the information presented to us by Monk Thomas is most meagre, Florentius and Ymarus were probably "Priests or Levites" who suffered martyrdom during the incursions of the Danes. Florentius was buried in the churchyard of the church of St. Mary at Minster; and beyond this fact nothing is known of his life. St. Ymarus had been a monk of Reculver Abbey, which had been founded by King Egbert in A.D. 669, having been given by him to one [1] Bassa "a mass-priest on which to build a minster."

Reculver, though in so exposed a situation for attack by the Danes, continued as an abbey for some time after it had been given to Christ Church Cathedral by King Edred in 949,[2] but it was converted into a Collegiate Church and governed by a Dean in the time of Archbishop Agelnoth (1020–1038).[3]

Ymarus was probably martyred some time in the tenth century. Thomas of Elmham says "They translated the body of St. Ymarus a monk of Reculver to the church of St. John the Baptist which is in Thanet."

This was the parish church of Margate, and here before the year 1875 was to be found beneath the second arch of the southern arcade of the nave at the west end of the church, a coffin-shaped stone of black marble, probably Bethersden, an ancient coffin-lid with a cross wrought on the top, the shaft long and thin, resting on a calvary and having a head formed of a quatrefoil, combined with a square, placed diagonally.

This was traditionally said to cover the dust of the Saxon saint Ymar, and was there when I visited the church sixty years ago in its original position in the nave. At a so-called "restoration" in 1875, this coffin-lid was moved to the north side of the church, to the north of the pulpit (but has since been removed to the north side of the altar in the south chapel); and all the memorial brasses fixed in their ledger stones (an almost unique collection rich in beauty and number) were also barbarously moved from their places, set in rows to serve as a pavement for the

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno. [2] Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS., Saxon Charters.
[3] Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1640.

chancel of this interesting church. The memorials of other Kentish saints have fared even worse. The holy virgin SIBURGIS or SIGEBURGA, was the fourth Abbess of the Saxon Nunnery of St. Mary (afterwards called St. Mildred) at Minster in the Isle of Thanet. This nunnery had been founded by a royal widow, ERMENBURGA, otherwise EBBA, called Domina Ebba, or more commonly Dompneva, who had been the wife of Merwald, son of the heathen Penda, king of the Mercians. Dompneva was the great-grand-daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and of Bertha his wife who was a grand-daughter of Clovis and Sainte Clotilde. Dompneva and her husband were most pious Christians, and were the parents of three daughters, all three sainted virgins, of whom the second—Mildred—followed her mother as second Abbess of the Minster nunnery. Dompneva had received the veil in A.D. 672 from Archbishop Theodore, and had built her nunnery which had been hallowed by the Archbishop in 675 under romantic and tragic circumstances.

This early Religious House was situated on the site of the present vicarage of Minster-in-Thanet, which is to the north-west of the parish church of St. Mary, the two westernmost bays of the nave of that church having been the chapel of the nunnery. According to the charter of Wihtraed, Dompneva was alive in A.D. 697, but at that date she was succeeded by her daughter Mildred, who was then about thirty-seven years of age, as 2nd Abbess.

MILDRED had also received the veil from Archbishop Theodore at a date unrecorded. The miraculous legends related by the chroniclers as occurring during the lifetime of this saint, were only surpassed by the surprising wonders and miracles wrought at her tomb after the days of her earthly pilgrimage. She passed to the heavenly kingdom the 3rd before the Ides of July (July 13), A.D. 725, and her feast day has always been kept as a "Double." Mildred was buried in the church of St. Mary, but her relics were translated to a new church by her successor Eadburga, and again later in 1031 to the abbey church of St. Austin at Canterbury, by Abbot Elfstan. King Canute had given the Manor of Minster in that year to the Abbot and Convent of St. Austin's and had vowed the translation of St. Mildred's relics to the *Mater primaria* of Saxon Monasticism.

EADBURGA,[1] or Bugga, as she was called by her friends, the 3rd Abbess, found the accommodation at St. Mary's insufficient for the growing needs of the nunnery; there were then between seventy and ninety nuns professed there. She therefore transferred the nuns to a new building on a site about a furlong to the north-east of the parish church, where the court-house now known as Minster Abbey stands. This is a more elevated situation, farther from the marshes and so far healthier than the old site by the creek.

[1] For some most interesting episodes in the life of this saintly lady and her letters to St. Winfrith (Boniface) of Crediton, see *English Girlhood at School*, by Dorothy Gardiner, 1929.

The new buildings were dedicated in 738 by Archbishop Cuthbert, who also translated the relics of St. Mildred in 748 from the church of St. Mary to the new nunnery chapel which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, where they were placed on the north side of the presbytery. The foundations of this chapel may yet be traced in time of drought in the south garden of Minster Abbey. Eadburga died in 751, and was buried in the church she had founded and built.

SIGEBURGA or SIBURGIS was the 4th Abbess. She ruled from A.D. 751 to 791. At the present day we, unfortunately, know very little about her, except that she is described "as the holy virgin who for her sanctity was buried in the Cathedral by St. Dunstan." It was her misfortune to witness the first descent of the Danes upon Thanet, and almost every year after saw their inroad and ravages along the coast and often far inland. These began according to the chroniclers in 787, and resulted in constant afflictions and losses to the reduced and imperilled community, and according to the historian Thomas of Elmham "the flock wasted away from the deficiency of the pasture." Siburgis died in 791, having ruled the house for forty years, and was buried in the church or chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, where her remains must have rested long after the burning and desolation of the abbey in the time of her successor, until the Archiepiscopate of St. Dunstan (960–988), who translated them to the Saxon Cathedral in Canterbury.

SELEDRITHA (791–840) was the 5th and last Abbess of Minster. She was consecrated by Archbishop Ethelhard (793–805), and made a vigorous attempt to restore the monastery to its pristine state by most energetic measures. In this she was assisted by Archbishop Wulfred (805–832), but all in vain, for the abbey was attacked and burnt by the Danes according to Thomas of Elmham somewhere about the year 838 or 839, and the Abbess with ninety of her nuns, servants and the priests and levites, who had taken refuge within the chapel, were burnt to death and the abbey totally destroyed. There were never more than five Saxon Abbesses at Minster, they were the number of the wise virgins in the parable, whom doubtless they greatly resembled.

The above is the story of the destruction of the abbey as told by Thomas of Elmham, but there is some doubt, not of the destruction of the abbey but of the massacre of the nuns, for at about this time an Abbess Seledritha is found at the more ancient abbey of Lyminge. This abbey was founded in A.D. 633, upon the ruins of a Roman building with a western apse, by Queen Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, and widow of Edwin of Northumbria, when she fled into Kent after the death of her husband. The abbey was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century, but it seems that Seledritha and her nuns had been received there soon after 804, when certain lands in Canterbury were conveyed to her by a

charter dated that year and the nunnery moved to the parish of St. Mildred in that city.

The last notice of these Saxon Abbesses is to be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under date 1011, when in the attack on Canterbury Archbishop Alphage was taken prisoner, a certain Abbess *Leofruna* was also taken. Both Harpsfield and Lambard describe her as of St. Mildred's, Canterbury. I have never come across a life of Siburgis, until I accidentally noticed in a detached MS. handed to me by the Rev. C. E. Woodruff for examination the "*item, Vita sancte Siberge cum aliis*" amongst the list of books, etc., in an inventory of the fifteenth century of *Contenta in cubiculo fratris Ricardi Stone*, a monk of Christ Church Cathedral, who was professed about 1485. This interesting find is amongst the "Inventories" belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury with the Press mark: *Inventory Box. A. 3. XYZ.* What became of Brother Richard Stone's books and other possessions which he kept in his cubicle in the dormitory, it is quite impossible now to say, but if the "life" is extant and could be discovered what an immense amount of light it might throw upon the events which took place in Minster-in-Thanet during the last half of the eighth century.

CHAPTER X

ST. ELFRIC, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR

995–1005

ELFRIC was the 26th Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeding Sigeric (or Siricius according to the Latinized form) in 995.

This Archbishop has been confounded with four other more or less eminent historical personages of the same name who were his contemporaries; viz. Elfric the Grammarian, a great theological scholar and divine; Elfric, the Archbishop of York; Elfric, who was Abbot of Malmesbury; and Elfric Bata (or The Bat), a monk of Winchester and disciple of Elfric the Grammarian.

Elfric, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had been a monk of Abingdon, where the celebrated Ethelwold was his teacher. Ethelwold's chief delight was to teach young men and boys, and give them rules for grammar: by his pleasant and delightful conversation he drew them to better and higher things, for he was a popular master, and is reported to have invented "cribs" for his pupils by turning Latin books into English.

Matthew Paris, in his *Historia Anglorum*, says that Elfric the Archbishop was brother to Leofric who was the son of Eardwulf, ealdorman of Kent, a benefactor to Canterbury. It is possible that Elfric's mother had made a second marriage after the death of his own father, whose name is not known. Matthew Paris gives a long account of these two half-brothers, who both joined the abbey of St. Alban's, but modern authorities discredit much of what he says, for as the Rev. William Hunt declares in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "it is wholly incomprehensible."

It is agreed, however, that Elfric became the 10th Abbot of St. Alban's, being installed by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York; and on his elevation to the Bishopric of Ramsbury in A.D. 990 his half-brother Leofric was elected Abbot to succeed him.

His translation to Canterbury is omitted by William of Malmesbury; but under date A.D. 995 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we read:—"This year was Elfric consecrated Archbishop at Christ Church (Canterbury)." The previous year notes the date of his election: "A.D. 994, this year Archbishop Siric died and Elfric Bishop of Ramsbury was chosen on Easter Day, April 21, at Amesbury by King Ethelred and all his Council."

In that particular MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Domitian A. viii) which appears to have originally belonged to the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury, and indeed to have been compiled within its walls and written in its scriptorium, are many references to Kent. Amongst them is the story of how Archbishop Elfric on arrival at his Cathedral was, much to his disgust, received by clerks and not by monks. It is curious that the references in this MS. to the expelling of Seculars and the filling up of their places by Regulars at Canterbury, are mostly additions added after the original transcription of the MS. and appear in the margin or on inserted scraps of vellum. It should be remembered that this particular MS. was written at the end of the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth century, and that these interpolations were probably influenced by a very natural monastic ambition on behalf of the Benedictine Priory at Canterbury for its glorification.

The statement that "Elfric was a very wise man, and that there was no saner man in England" we can accept unhesitatingly. It is the glory of the Church in England that we are able to say that most of its Archbishops of Canterbury bore the same character; but the special pleading found in this MS. as to the presence of monks in Christ Church Cathedral before the Conquest will scarcely be accepted by the students of Church History. Elfric was consecrated in 996, the year after his election to Canterbury, and as he had already been consecrated to Ramsbury, this statement probably means installation and enthronization on the reception of the pallium.

The Archbishop was a man of undoubted ability, but his learning has been overshadowed by his namesake Elfric the Grammarian, whose works in the Anglo-Saxon language are prodigious. He also had been a monk at Abingdon, and later was "monk and mass-priest at Cerne," and later Abbot of Eynsham. He taught that particular theology and doctrine to the Anglo-Saxons hat five hundred years afterwards was stated by the Reformers to be the Theology and Doctrine of the Church of England, and it certainly was accepted as such in his own day. This man appears to have the better claim to the title of "Saint" than the Archbishop, but contemporary writers do certainly also speak of the Archbishop's ability as being remarkable. He died in November, 1005, and was buried first at Abingdon, but during the reign of Canute his body was translated to Canterbury.

His will, in Anglo-Saxon and Latin, is given at length by Thorpe in his *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, p. 549; it is from the Cotton MS. Claud, B. vi. fol. 103, and Claud, C. ix. fol. 125 verso.

"✠ Here is made known how Archbishop Aelfric has ordered his testament. That is, first; for his soul-shot, he has bequeathed to Christ Church the land at Wells, and at Bourn and at Risborough. And he has bequeathed to his Lord his best ship and the sailing gear thereto, and 60 helms and 60 coats of mail. And he has desired, if it were his Lord's will to confirm to St. Alban's the land at Kingbury, and himself to take again that at Eadilfington. And he has bequeathed the land at Dumbleton to Abingdon; and to Aelfnoth III hides thereof, for his day, and afterwards with the other, to Abingdon; and x oxen and ii men he has bequeathed to him; and let them follow the lordship to which the land belongs. And he has bequeathed the land at Wallingford, which he bought to Celeweard, and after his day to Cholsey. And he has bequeathed to St. Alban's the land at Tewin, and let stand the agreements between the Abbot and Ceolric, which were before agreed on with the Archbishop; that is that Ceolric have the part of the land which he has for his day, and also the part which the Archbishop let him have for his money, that was seven and a half hides, for V pounds and L manucuses of gold; and after his day, let it go altogether to St. Alban's. And their agreements were, that Oseney, after Ceolric's day, should also go thither. And the land in London which he bought with his money, he has bequeathed to St. Alban's; and all his books he has also bequeathed thither; and his tent. And he has bequeathed that the money held by anyone be received and first every loan be paid, and afterwards there be found for his heriot what should be necessary. And one ship he has given to the

folk in Kent, and another to Wiltshire. And with respect to other things besides, if there be aught, he has prayed that Bishop Wulfstan and Abbot Leofric would order so as to them seem best. And the land in the West at Filtington and at Newton, he has bequeathed to his sisters and their children. And let Aelfheah Esne's son's land go ever in his kin. And he has bequeathed to Archbishop Wulfstan one neck-rood and one ring and one psalter; and to Bishop Aelfheah one rood. And he has forgiven under God's favour, to the Kentish people, the loan which they owe to him; and to the Middle Saxons and the Southerns the money he advanced to them. And he wills that after his day, every penal serf, who had been condemned in his time, be freed. If anyone prevent this, let him have to account with God. Amen."

Upon the translation of the body of the Archbishop from Abingdon to Canterbury by Canute, it was buried in the church of St. John. After the fire of 1067, the remains were placed in a coffin and removed to the upper vault in the north transept; and after the choir of the Cathedral was enlarged in the time of St. Anselm, they were deposited about 1121 at the altar of St. John the Evangelist in the northern apse of the south-eastern transept. In the inventory made in the time of Prior Henry of Eastry (1321)[1] the remains, probably only bones in a chest, lay where it had been deposited nearly two centuries before.[2] And in a MS. of the time of Archbishop Warham in the sixteenth century now amongst the Parker MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it is stated that the relics of Elfric "lie upon a beam before the altar of Saints John the Baptist and Evangelist in the south part of the Choir." At this time the relics were certainly in a chest or shrine and placed upon the beam which went across the apse, where they remained until the Dissolution. Upon the issue of the Injunctions put forth in the name of Edward VI in 1547, they were taken down and probably buried beneath the pavement at this spot.

The name of St. Elfric does not occur in any extant Canterbury Kalendar, possibly he was commemorated with others on All Saints Day only.

[1] British Museum, Galba, E. IV.
[2] Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 35.

CHAPTER XI

ST. ALPHAGE, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR, APRIL 19

1005–1012

THE original life of St. Alphage was written by Osbern, monk of Christ Church Priory, in 1070, but was finished by Edmer. To this foundation many writers have added as more knowledge came to hand.

St. Alphage was born of noble and virtuous parents who gave him a good education. As a youth he renounced the world, the flesh and the Devil, going rather against the wish of his mother to the monastery of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, where he began "to live to God," though in his desire for greater perfection he felt that his foot was not even yet on the lowermost rung of the ladder. Here he became *servus servorum Dei*, but feeling that life in a community was not strict enough he built himself a hut at Bath, and lived there the life of either an anchorite or a hermit. He was visited and consulted by all classes of people, to whom he gave such perfect instruction with such profound humility that many joined his way of life, becoming monks and members of his congregation. The Chronicler Florence of Worcester says that he became Abbot of Bath, and it is likely, as that abbey was refounded for a community of monks in 970, whose seal we have already referred to (see page 11).

Here after a time Alphage lamented the irregularities of the brethren. He would say that "it was much better for a man to have stayed in the world than to be an imperfect monk," and "to wear the habit of a saint, without having the spirit, was a perpetual lie; an hypocrisy which insults, but could never impose, on Almighty God," maxims which, in the

twentieth century, are as true as in the tenth, and still more needed to be taken to heart.

In 984 Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, died, and Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (admonished by St. Andrew in a vision, as he believed), called upon the Abbot to leave his monastery at Bath, take on the office of Bishop and administer the See of Winchester. Ethelwold, the late Bishop, had evacuated the secular clerks who had been serving that Cathedral, and had installed Regulars. Both classes of clergy were, therefore, interested in the appointment of his successor. The choice of the Archbishop was wise—Alphage was a holy and devoted Bishop, as the history of his life shows. He ruled the See for twenty-two years, and it was whilst he was Bishop of Winchester that an event occurred which probably gave rise in after years to the terrible hatred which Osbern says was exhibited and the animosity which was shown at the martyrdom of the saint by the heathen Danes; this was on account of his preaching and the success which attended it.

Olaf of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark "sat," as the Chronicler says, in Southampton in the winter of 994, the King, Ethelred the Unready, sent the Bishop of the Diocese, Alphage, as an Ambassador to the Northerners. Olaf was already a Christian—at least he had been baptized in his own land by English missionaries; he travelled with Alphage to Andover to meet Ethelred, and whilst there he received the rite of Confirmation from the Bishop, and at the same time made a solemn promise, which he kept, that he would never invade the Realm of England again.[1]

This confession of Faith on the part of the Norwegian King so angered the Pagans, that they took the barbarous revenge on the Bishop when they had him in their power in after years.

Alphage, when he became Bishop of Winchester, was about thirty years of age. He was an ascetic from the beginning of his career. We are told that even in winter, he rose at midnight, and went out, however cold it might be, and prayed, barefoot and without even putting on his scapular, i.e. the upper garment of the monk. He only very occasionally ate flesh meat, and was no less remarkable for charity to his neigh-

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

bours than for severity to himself. During his time there were no beggars in the Diocese of Winchester.

At the age of fifty-two years he was, on the death of Elfric, translated to Canterbury. He who had trembled at the idea of becoming Bishop of Winchester, was terrified at the prospect of becoming Archbishop of Canterbury. He was translated in 1005 and immediately went to Rome for the pallium. On his return he held in 1009 a great National Council at Enham, in which thirty-two Canons were published for the reformation of errors and abuses and the establishment of discipline, amongst them the ancient law of the "Friday Fast" was confirmed; they also provided against heathenism, lawlessness and the sale of slaves, especially to heathen men; the setting up of a Navy and of an Army,—but as Ethelred the Unready was King all these provisions came to naught.[1]

As it was during the Archiepiscopate of St. Alphage that the Danish invasions culminated in the attack on the City of Canterbury, the massacre of the inhabitants, and the captivity and martyrdom of the Archbishop, it is necessary to enter into this period of our history in rather more detail.

From the year 787 when the first ships of the Danes sought the land of the English, the Saxon Cathedral was in constant and imminent danger of destruction. The eighth, ninth and tenth centuries were, to the English monasteries, times of ruin and desolation. They were the Treasure Houses of the Nation, and consequently it was the Religious House, and not the Parish Church, that the heathen Northmen (as they were called) plundered and burnt. This, I think, accounts for many of these latter buildings coming down to us more or less unscathed.

Whether they were Danes, Norwegians, Saxons, Jutes or Goths, they were all called "Northmen," and the history of their depredations is such that it is a marvel that Christianity in the country survived at all; that it was not wiped out as completely in the northern and eastern parts of the country, as it had been three centuries and a half before by the Saxons, Angles and Jutes.

For the purpose of this history we can only very briefly refer to those invasions which affected the County of Kent; and more particularly the

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

City of Canterbury. The earliest attacks on the latter were in 839 and in 851; on both occasions the Cathedral was unharmed, though the *Saxon Chronicle* says that on the former date there was great slaughter. It is suggested that on these occasions the enemy was bribed by Archbishop Ceolnoth to desist. Dean Hook refers to the enormous amount of money minted during his occupancy of the See, and the little he left behind him, caused by the drain upon his resources due to what might be called "Blackmail"; but it seems more likely that the city and the Cathedral owed its immunity to the strength of the city walls and the valour of its defenders.

In the year 854, the Danes for the first time wintered in the Isle of Sheppey. In 865 they made their head-quarters in the Isle of Thanet, but on the promise of money they executed a peace with the men of Kent; under the guise of which their army stole out in the night and overran all East Kent. The same kind of cunning was used by later hordes of these pagans, who invaded East Anglia, Mercia, and the north. In 870 they attacked Canterbury again, and Gervase says that the Cathedral suffered rather severely. In 871, Wessex was attacked; and the following year they occupied London for the winter. In 885, Rochester was besieged; but the men of the city, with the help of the army of Alfred the Great, who came to their assistance, defeated them and drove them to their ships. Later Alfred's fleet met sixteen of these Danish pirate ships at Stourmouth on the Wantsum, and sank them, but on their return to their base, they themselves were beset by a larger fleet of the pirates and the Danes secured the victory.

In 930, the Isle of Thanet was again overrun; in 994, Kent suffered burning, plundering and murder; in 999, Rochester was attacked for the second time, but the men of Canterbury were called to their assistance, marched against them and after a fierce battle the heathen were driven into West Kent, which was overrun.

In 1002, a tribute of £24,000 was paid in the way of "blackmail"; and in 1007, £30,000 was demanded and paid. In 1009, Thurkill's army came to Sandwich, and marched to Canterbury, which they would have stormed, but at this time they rather desired peace; and so for the payment of £3,000 a peace with East Kent was secured. In the autumn they returned to Kent and went into winter quarters on the Thames.

Two years afterwards, in 1011, the final blow fell on the City of Canterbury.

There can be little doubt that during all these years the City of Canterbury owed its preservation to its well-defended walls and gates, as before mentioned, and it is quite likely that it would not have fallen in 1011 had it not been set on fire.

St. Alphage had ruled for six years as Archbishop, when an army of the Danes, who had ravaged East Anglia, turned westward, and desolated Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. Then they turned to the east and, coming to Canterbury, encompassed the city with a siege.

According to the Chronicle entitled *Flores Historiarum*,[1] on the twentieth day of the siege a part of the city was set on fire by the treachery of Almar, Archdeacon of Canterbury, whom Archbishop Alphage had formerly saved from being put to death. The *Saxon Chronicle* has the same story, but calls Almar, "Elfmar," and "an abbot." Henry of Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester, Gervase of Canterbury, Thorne, Hoveden and others, taking their accounts from the *Saxon Chronicle* and copying one another almost word for word, continue what might be considered a falsification of history. Henry of Huntingdon does not give him the title of "Archdeacon"; and Brompton styles him simply "a deacon."

Osbern, who wrote the Life of St. Alphage at the request of Lanfranc, in describing the siege says that

> "the city was soon brought to great stress through want of provisions; the enemy planted battering-rams against the walls, and threw fire-brands into the city, whereby the houses were presently all in flames. The citizens then forsook the defence of the city walls, to look after their houses, wives and children. By this advantage the enemy made breaches in the walls, entered the city and caused dismal slaughter after a siege of twenty days."

In this account there is no word of any Archdeacon or even of anyone of the name of Almar, as being a betrayer of the city, but only conclusive evidence of the city having been taken by force of arms.

There was at this time, however, an Abbot of St. Austin's whose name was Almar, or Elfmar, but it is impossible now to ascertain what

[1] Rolls Series.

authority later chroniclers had for styling Elfmar the Abbot an Archdeacon. It is suggested by Battely, the continuator of Somner,[1] that the monks of St. Austin's could possibly foresee that in time to come their Abbot might be suspected to be the traitor from the account given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and to divert such infamous treachery from an Abbot of the famous monastery of the Benedictine Order, the monks conspired to invest the traitor with the title of Archdeacon, and to set him in Canterbury, where the scene of his villainy was enacted; such as directing the besiegers to attack the walls in certain weak places, or to cast in fire where it would do most mischief.

It is a coincidence that Almar or Elfmar the Abbot and his monastery escaped untouched; Thorne ascribes it to a miracle [2] which has to do with the history of that abbey. It is sufficient to record here that except for the reference to an Almar, in connection with the siege and destruction of Canterbury in the Chronicles mentioned, the name of Almar, or Elfmar, as Archdeacon of Canterbury is unknown.

With regard to Almar or Elfmar the Abbot, it is recorded that he was consecrated as Bishop of Sherborne in 1017 (the See was afterwards removed to Salisbury), and after ruling that See for many years he became blind, so resigning his bishopric he returned to St. Austin's Abbey, where he lived in the infirmary a life of purity and devotion, and dying in the odour of sanctity was buried in the chapel of St. John which was on the south side of the choir of the Abbey Church, over whose grave according to tradition "a heavenly light" was often seen to hover. It seems unthinkable that such a man could have made such shipwreck of his conscience and jeopardized his soul by the act attributed to him. In the light of the Danish love of tribute, it seems much more likely that he purchased his and his abbey's safety by the payment of "blackmail."

To return to the story of the siege, after the city was taken, the pagans set the Cathedral on fire, Edmer says:

"these children of Satan piled barrels one upon another and set them on fire, designing thus to burn the roof; already the heat of the flames began to melt the lead which ran down inside."

---

[1] *Antiquities of Canterbury*, Nicholas Battely, 1703.
[2] Thorne's *Chronicle*, Coll., 1782.

The Archbishop then appealed to the enemy to save the people, but he was seized, bound and dragged to the churchyard to see the Cathedral in flames, and to witness the defenceless people who had taken refuge in the church, driven forth by the falling of the boiling lead and flames; some were immediately murdered, some thrown back into the flames, others thrown headlong from the walls of the city, etc., etc.

Amidst all these horrors, Godwin the Bishop of Rochester and the Abbess Leofrond, the Mother-Superior of St. Mildred's Nunnery which was probably established in Canterbury at this time, were both taken prisoners, with an innumerable crowd of both sexes.

After that, the Cathedral was stripped and burned; and the whole population decimated, so that nine were slain and the tenth saved; the number of those saved amounted to four monks, and eighty men. The city was plundered and wholly burnt, the Archbishop was dragged to the Fleet and taken to Greenwich, where he remained in prison for seven months; and in order to be compelled to ransom himself was tortured.

It is refreshing to read in the *Flores Historiarum* [1] that, amidst all these calamities, "the anger of the Divine Mercy so raged against these Infidels that it destroyed two thousand of them by the most excrutiating and fearful torments of the bowels." If we can trust the writers of the Chronicle, this must have been caused by an outbreak of malignant cholera, possibly the first on record in this country.

The *Saxon Chronicle*, under date 1012, goes on to state that all the oldest Councillors of England, clergy and laity, went to London about Easter to collect a tribute of £48,000 to buy off the Danes; and that on Saturday, the day before Low Sunday, the thirteenth day before the Kalends of May (April 19) because the Archbishop would not promise them any ransom and forbade any man to do so for him, they were stirred against him and having drunk much wine they took him to their hustings and shamefully killed him by overwhelming him with the bones and horns of oxen. A certain Dane, Thrum by name, when he saw the Archbishop smitten down, dashed his axe into his head, and so transformed the Archbishop, who was confessing Christ with all constancy to the last, into a glorious martyr, and sent his exulting soul to Heaven.

[1] Rolls Series.

There is a picture of the attack on Canterbury, of the driving of the Archbishop on board the ship, and of the final scene at Greenwich, in the third triforium window from the west on the north side of the choir of the Cathedral. The pictures are in three circular medallions; they are remarkable for the beauty of the scroll-work on its ruby ground, and viewed from a little distance a warm rich light floods the space they occupy. They are part of the most beautiful windows in the Cathedral and are of about the year 1200. They were probably formerly in the two triforium windows of St. Anselm's Church, inserted by William of Sens after the fire of 1174, situated over the place for the Easter sepulchre, where the chained Bible now is, where they formed three pictures of a group of six and looked on to the shrine and altar of the martyr whose dust still probably lies beneath its site.

Miracles began early—at Greenwich, a dry log of wood which had been sprinkled with the blood of the martyr, after one night became green again and put forth branches and leaves. At this sight the Infidels became alarmed and after kissing the sacred corpse, permitted it to be carried to London where it was honourably buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

After the payment of the above-mentioned tribute a convention was made—all the Danes who were in the kingdom were to live peaceably with the English everywhere and both nations should have, as it were, "one heart and one soul." This was confirmed by hostages and oaths given and taken on both sides, after which the Danish King, Sweyn, returned to his own country and persecution ceased in England for a while.

It is recorded by Gervase that the Cathedral has suffered thrice by fire; first when the blessed martyr Alphage was captured by the Danes, and received the crown of martyrdom; secondly in 1067 when Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, took the rule of the Church of Canterbury, and thirdly in the days of Archbishop Richard and Prior Odo in 1174, four years after the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket.

We have described the first of these events and shall deal later with the second which brought the Saxon Church to an end. It is now necessary to attempt to discover the amount of damage done by the fire of 1011.

The extract from Osbern, given above, told us how the roof had been

set on fire, and from the fact that it melted the lead the fire must have been considerable. Fortunately we have another reference to this: Edmer (*Epis. de corp. S. Dunst. Ang. Sac.*, Tom. II, p. 225) tells us that the church, though it was despoiled of its ornaments, and profaned, yet it was not consumed by the fire with which the furious band assailed it to drive out the Archbishop and his *familia*; nor were its walls or its roofs destroyed. Having taken the Archbishop, they abandoned the fire; which apparently died out of itself after destroying part of the roof.

The Archbishop who succeeded Alphage was Livingus; he had been translated from Wells to Canterbury in 1013. He is said to have been held prisoner by the Danes for seven months, which is probably the reason for any neglect by him to repair the damage done to the Cathedral, and when he regained his liberty he fled across the sea, whilst the church lay desolate and in ruins. On his return to Canterbury he renewed the roof of the Cathedral, procuring the timber needed from Hase Church of Athelstane; Athelstane or, as the obituary says, Livingus himself also gave them two villages in Surrey, Merstham and Clayham, towards the reparation of the Cathedral.

Livingus died in 1020 and was succeeded by Ethelnoth (1020–1038), who had been Dean of Canterbury and Chaplain to King Canute. He is stated to have restored the Church of Canterbury to its former dignity. He had been the means of converting King Canute, who had succeeded on the death of Sweyn, from being a bloodthirsty barbarian to that of a humble and consistent Christian. The King completely restored the Cathedral, and, moreover, he gave his royal crown of gold to the church, which Edmer says was kept at "the head of the Great Cross in the nave," and he also says that the Queen, Emma, presented to the church the celebrated relic of the arm of St. Bartholomew, which was kept in a silver-gilt receptacle. There was an altar dedicated to St. Bartholomew in the crypt at one time, and it is probable that the relic was kept there.

In the year 1023, the body of the murdered Archbishop, which had been ransomed by the people of London and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, was translated to Canterbury.

The King was then in London; he, followed by his nobles, went to St. Paul's Cathedral and, as we are told in the *Flores Historiarum*,[1] lifted

[1] Rolls Series.

the body with his own hands, and Archbishop Ethelnoth, Bishop Britwine, and all God's servants that were with them (*Saxon Chronicle*), on the 6th day before the Ides of June (June 7), together with the diocesan bishops, earls and many others, clergy and laity, carried by ship his holy body over the Thames to Southwark, where the Archbishop and his companions with worthy pomp and sprightly joy carried him to Rochester. Thence, Canute, Queen Emma and her son Hardicanute, and they all with much majesty and bliss and songs of praise, carried the Holy Archbishop into Canterbury and brought him gloriously into the church on the 3rd day before the Ides of June (the 9th); afterwards on the 17th day before the Kalends of July (June 14) the Archbishop, Bishops Elfsey and Britwine and all they that were with them lodged the holy corpse on the north side of the Altar of Christ.

It should be remembered that the body of Archbishop Odo rested on the south side of this altar; and that St. Dunstan had been buried in front of the passage-way leading to the confessio with an altar at his head.

These three Saxon Archbishops, and especially the circumstances of the death of the last, invested the Church of Canterbury with a solemnity and sanctity it had never before possessed. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* speaks of the mighty miracles done at the tomb of St. Alphage at St. Paul's. What might not now take place when the first Martyr of the Anglican Archiepiscopate lay buried in honour in his own Cathedral? The people had already reckoned Alphage as a Saint, but until convinced by Anselm in 1078 Archbishop Lanfranc would not look upon him as a Martyr.

In Canterbury, and throughout the Catholic Church, his day is kept on April 19. In the Kalendar in Register K,[1] it is noted as a Red Letter Day; in that in the Archdeacon's Black Book,[2] it is noted as a Black Letter Day. It is mentioned in the *Canterbury Benedictional*,[3] and the Canterbury Martyrology.[4] There are no less than five forms of benediction for him in the *Canterbury Benedictional*; two for April 19, and three for his translation, on June 8; and the day, of course, occurs in Hollingbourne's Psalter.[5] It was St. Alphage who brought with

[1] Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS., Case F.1.
[2] Ditto, XYZ Cabinet.
[3] Henry Bradshaw Society.
[4] British Museum, Arundel MS., 68.
[5] Lambeth MSS., 558.

him to Canterbury in 1006, when he became Archbishop, the head of St. Swithin, as recorded by Edmer. This he deposited with other relics in the altar which was placed in the chord of the apse of the Saxon Church, dedicated to Our Lord. The Sacrist at the Cathedral paid for extra music and bells *pro sonitu* in 1273, the following sums:

on the ordination of St. Alphage v*d*.
on the day of St. Alphage (Aprl. 19) if in Lent vij*d*.
on the day of the translation of St. Alphage (8th June) vij*d*.

In the Roll of Psalms and Collects for Saints' Days in use at the Cathedral (Ch. Ch., Cant., MSS. Y. 68) in the thirteenth century, occurs the following:

De Sancto Elphego
Ad Vesperas
Deus tuorum gloria sacerdotum presta quesumus ut Sancti Martiris tui atque pontificis Elphegi cuius memoriam agimus senciamus auxilium Per etc.
Ad Laudes, oracio sancti Martiris tui Domine Elphegi nos oracio sancta conciliet que sacris virtutibus veneranda refulget, Per etc.

The jewels and ornaments belonging to the altar of St. Alphage were kept in the Great Cupboard in the church after the enlargement of the choir by St. Anselm in 1100, amongst them was the super altar of St. Alphage and a chalice of gold and crystal enamelled and a paten with pearls, which belonged to St. Alphage himself.

Leland mentions the stone wall (see page 72) behind the High Altar, and between it and the steps leading up to the Archbishop's throne. It was also behind this wall that St. Alphage was buried on the north and St. Dunstan on the south as already stated. Sir William St. John Hope was of opinion that this was

"a stone reredos, no doubt a low wall like that still standing at Westminster Abbey Church, extending across the presbytery and enriched with tabernacle work and imagery on both sides. Against it stood the three altars, viz. The High Altar, and those of St. Alphage and St. Dunstan, with doors between leading to the space behind and to the steps up to the Archbishop's marble chair.[1]

[1] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Legg and Hope, p. 109.

It is interesting to observe that the site of these doors can be accurately placed in a picture of the interior of Canterbury Cathedral of about the time of the Great Rebellion, in the possession of Mr. W. D. Caroe, that portion of the step leading from the Sanctuary on either side of the position of the High Altar being very much worn from constant use.

Prior Chillenden (1390–1411) "ornamented these three altars with work of silver and gold and wood curiously carved."

We have already mentioned the image of St. Alphage which was placed on the beam above the High Altar (see page 72). This image was doubtless behind the altar of St. Alphage and to the north of the Majesty of Our Lord.

Amongst the relics in the list of Prior Eastry's time (1321) is, of course, mentioned the body of St. Alphage in the shrine next the High Altar; and the furnishing of this altar has already been referred to (see page 73).

In the absence of any record it is impossible to say what happened to the shrine and relics at the time of the Suppression of the Monastery (1540), except that the shrine was demolished and the relics disappeared; the latter were probably buried beneath the tomb when it was destroyed with its shrine, the gold and silver were taken for the King's use and the image was turned out in the first year of Edward VI under his Injunctions (1547).

CHAPTER XII

1017–1067

THE history of the Saxon Cathedral extends over a period of four hundred and seventy years, more than half of which was spent in incessant warfare in some part or other of the country. From the time of Canute there existed more or less peace and tranquillity for the people of the Cathedral City, though the country itself was very far from being settled. We have seen how Canute had been converted to Christianity, and there is extant an interesting document recording this fact in the form of a certificate written in a copy of a Gospel-Book now in the British Museum amongst the Royal MSS. with the Press Mark I.D. 9. It is known as the Latin Gospels of King Canute, and was given by the King to Christ Church, Canterbury. It is in early eleventh-century script; on a page before the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel is an Anglo-Saxon inscription, being a certificate of the reception of King Canute and others into the family or society of Christ's Church.

It runs thus:

"In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Here is written Canute the King's name. He is our beloved Lord worldwards, and our spiritual brother Godwards; and Harold the King's brother; Thorth our brother; Kartoca our brother; Thuri our brother."

On the next leaf is the entry of a Charter of the same King, in the Anglo-Saxon language, confirming the privileges of the monastery. In 1023 Canute gave to Christ Church the haven of Sandwich, extending from Pipernæsse to Mærcesfleote, with all the dues, tolls and rights arising therefrom. The extent over which the "ministers of Christ Church" were to enjoy these rights, was fixed in rather a remarkable

manner—a man with "a small axe which the Angles call a taper-axe" was to stand on board a ship floating as near the land as possible, when the tide was highest and fullest; and whithersoever the axe could be thrown on either side by the man on board the ship, was to mark the boundary of the land so conveyed by the King.

Canute in the same Charter gave also the right to a ferry and a ferry-boat at Sandwich, and he mentions that he gave his golden crown to Christ Church, placing it upon the altar with his own hands.

The Charter is amongst the valuable and unique series of Anglo-Saxon Charters preserved in the Cathedral library.

Canute died at Shaftesbury on the second day before the Ides of November (November 11), 1035; and was buried at Winchester in the Old Minster. He reigned over all England for nearly twenty years.

Ethelnoth died on October 29, 1038, and was buried in the Cathedral in the Chapel of St. Benedict just on the right of the altar, in the apse of the north transept. This is now represented by the Chapel of St. Mary leading out of the Martyrdom; and the position of his grave would be just inside the screen on the right. He had been a monk of Glastonbury; afterwards was Dean of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was consecrated Archbishop in the Cathedral on November 13, 1020, by Archbishop Wulfstan of York.

In 1038 Eadsige, who had been one of the suffragans of St. Martin's Church consecrated thereto in 1035, was appointed Archbishop in succession to Ethelnoth. He also was one of Canute's Chaplains and received the pallium at Rome in 1040. In 1043, after a "Witan" held at Gillingham near Chatham, he crowned Edward the Confessor in Canterbury Cathedral and immediately after accompanied the King to Winchester, where on Easter Day, April 3, 1043, he again solemnly crowned the King, assisted by the Archbishop of York and other Bishops. He consecrated in his Cathedral[1] Grimketal as Bishop of Selsey in 1038, and in 1044 Siward the Abbot of Abingdon as his suffragan, as he was unable to perform his duties through ill-health. He died on October 29, 1050, and was buried close to the north wall of the crypt of Trinity Chapel in St. Anselm's Church in front of the altar of St. John the Baptist. Afterwards his body in a leaden coffin

[1] Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Ang.*

was taken up and laid under the altar of St. Mary-in-the-Crypt.[1] Somner says, but apparently without authority, that this Prelate was, after his death, canonized.

On the death of Archbishop Eadsige, King Edward the Confessor called a meeting of the Great Council in London in Mid-Lent, 1051, at which he appointed Robert the Frank, called Robert of Jumièges, who had been Bishop of London since 1044, to be Archbishop. Robert at once proceeded to Rome for the pallium and on his return was enthroned in the Cathedral on St. Peter's Day, 1051. He was, however, expelled on September 14 in the following year and outlawed for his part in the discord made between Earl Godwine and the King. He was a turbulent Norman and more fitted to be a soldier than a priest; in the hurry of his escape from England, and from the anger of Earl Godwine, he left his pallium behind him. He appealed to the Pope, whose assistance failed in reinstating him as Archbishop of Canterbury, and returning to Jumièges, he died and was buried near the High Altar of the Abbey Church. The deposition of this Norman Prelate and the appointment of his successor Stigand was one of the reasons given for the invasion of England by William the Conqueror.

Stigand, who had previously been made Bishop of Elmham in 1043, and afterwards of Winchester in 1047, was uncanonically appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on the deprivation of Robert in 1052. He was excommunicated by several Popes,[2] and seems to have bought and sold Church property simoniacally, to have occupied a schismatical position even to appropriating the pallium left behind by his predecessor. In 1058, however, he obtained another pallium sent by Pope Benedict X from Rome. He consecrated in Christ Church the Precentor of the Cathedral, a Clerk named Ethelric, to be Bishop of Selsey, and at the same time Siward as Bishop of Rochester.

In 1067 he consecrated Remigius as Bishop of Dorchester.

He was present at the death-bed of Edward the Confessor, the eve of Twelfth Day (January 6), 1066, who was buried on the following day in Westminster Abbey Church, which he built and had just had consecrated.

[1] Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath.*, p. 57.
[2] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. II, p. 607.

Stigand is said to have crowned Harold, but the authors of the *Flores Historiarum* say that on the day King Edward was buried Harold extorted an oath of fealty from the nobles, and placed the crown on his own head. After the Battle of Hastings, and the total defeat of Harold, Stigand appears to have quickly submitted to the Conqueror, and it is curious, but a fact, that he was present at the coronation, and assisted the Archbishop of York to crown him.

Later, in 1070, various crimes were laid to his charge: seizing the Archbishopric during the lifetime of Robert; stealing his pallium and receiving one from a schismatical Pope; being a Pluralist by holding Winchester with Canterbury; as well as various homicides. He was deprived and imprisoned at Winchester till his death on February 22, 1072, and was buried at the Abbey of St. Swithin there.

It was during the calamities attendant on the Norman invasion that Edmer, the future historian of Christ Church Cathedral and its Archbishops, was at the Monastery School and witnessed the final disaster involving the total destruction of the venerable Romano-Saxon Church and the domestic buildings of the monastery in one common and complete ruin.

"While misfortunes," says Edmer, "fell thick upon all parts of England, it happened that the City of Canterbury was set on fire by the carelessness of some individuals, and that the rising flames caught the Mother Church thereof. How can I tell it? The whole was consumed and nearly all the monastic offices that appertained to it, as well as the Church of the Blessed John the Baptist, where as aforesaid, the remains of the Archbishops were buried. The exact nature and amount of the damage no man can tell. But its extent may be estimated from the fact, that the devouring flames consumed nearly all that was there preserved most precious, whether in ornaments of gold, of silver, or of other materials, or in sacred or profane books. Those things that could be replaced were therefore the less to be regretted; but a mighty and interminable grief oppressed this Church, because the privileges granted by the Popes of Rome, and by the Kings and Princes of this Kingdom, all carefully sealed and collected together, by which they and theirs were bound to defend and uphold the Church for ever, were now reduced to ashes. Copies of these documents were sought for, and collected from every place where such things were preserved; but their bulls and seals were irrecoverably destroyed with the Church in which they had been deposited."

In 1067, the year after the Conquest, William the Norman paid a

visit to France, and on December 7 that same year he returned to England and landed at Winchelsea, to hear that the day before (the Feast of St. Nicholas) the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury and all the domestic buildings of the monastery and the Church of St. John the Baptist, which contained the tombs of the Archbishops of Canterbury, had been totally destroyed by fire.

Thus was witnessed in little more than one short year, the total extinction of the Saxon Cathedral, the Saxon Dynasty and, with the sole exception of Wulstan at Worcester, of the Saxon Hierarchy.

APPENDIX

MOST authorities are agreed it is unlikely that any remaining portions of the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury are now to be seen above ground. The eleventh-century Canterbury monk and historian, Edmer, writing a Life of Archbishop Breogwine (*Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II, p. 187), in recounting the story of the fire which consumed the Cathedral in 1067, says that

"*the whole was consumed, and nearly all the monastic offices that appertained to it, as well as the church of the blessed John Baptist*, where the remains of the Archbishops were buried."

Another early Canterbury historian, however, Osbern, in his *Miracles of St. Dunstan*, printed by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti* (Vol. VII, p. 695), qualifies the above by stating that

"two houses indispensably necessary to the existence of the brethren, remained unhurt —the refectory namely, and the dormitory as well as so much of the cloisters as enabled them (i.e. the monks) to pass from one house to the other."

As if to show the utter destruction of the Cathedral and its domestic buildings, Edmer, in several of his Lives of the Archbishops and other works, states that for three years the ruin was left undisturbed until the time of Lanfranc (1070), who, when he was appointed Archbishop and came to Canterbury,

"found that his church was reduced to almost nothing by fire and ruin; he was filled with consternation. But although the magnitude of the damage had well nigh reduced him to despair, he took courage, and neglecting his own accommodation, he completed in all haste the houses essential to the monks (*sic*). He therefore pulled down to the ground all that he found of the burnt monastery, and having dug out their foundations from under the earth, he constructed in their stead others, which excelled them greatly both in beauty and magnitude. . . . *As for the church, which the aforesaid fire, combined with its age, had rendered completely unserviceable, he set about to destroy it utterly and erect a more noble one.* And in the space of seven years he raised the new church from the very foundations, and rendered it nearly perfect."

Edmer goes on to say that during the demolition, the altars, bodies of the Archbishops, saints and relics were all removed from the ruined Saxon Cathedral, to

which he says he can bear a faithful testimony, as he was an eyewitness of all that was done.

In the face of such evidence as that given above it is difficult to believe that any portion of the Saxon Cathedral Church of St. Austin can be found above ground. It is doubtless true that materials used in the construction of the early church, if uninjured by the fire, would be re-used by subsequent builders; and that accounts for the curious mixture in the walls still to be found at the west end of the crypt. If any portion of the early church is above ground it is possibly only core, and it will be found under the present central tower, and in the walls at the west end of the crypt.

This was certainly the opinion of "A Committee appointed to make an antiquarian investigation of the Cathedral" in 1888.[1] It consisted of such well-known names as Canon F. C. Routledge, Dr. J. B. Sheppard, and Canon W. A. Scott-Robertson; and *inter alia* they came to the conclusion that

> "the west wall of the crypt was probably pre-Norman and that the plaster on the lower part of this wall was before 1070; that the ashlar work of Caen stone in the upper part of the wall was Lanfranc's; that the lower portion of the wall was part of the pre-Norman crypt, and that the character of the plaster seemed to suggest the possibility that it may have formed part of the original building, granted to St. Augustine by King Ethelbert."

Reference to the text will show in what way I have ventured to disagree with these findings.

The vergers of the Cathedral have for at least forty years stated that this wall was the west wall of St. Austin's crypt, but whether the tradition dates from the investigation of the above committee or whether earlier, it is difficult now to ascertain. With regard to the foregoing evidences of a general destruction, it may be mentioned that the wall on the west side of the present library garden, which is continuous with the west wall of the library, is part of the original wall of the dormitory and is separated from the refectory by the east alley of the present cloister. If these buildings were on the site of those erected by St. Austin, this old garden wall might also be St. Austin's work, and might be part of the buildings recorded by Osbern above mentioned as being unhurt. This wall is well worth an examination and will be found to consist of courses of large rough field flints, set diagonally, herringbone fashion and courses of tufa; all with very wide joints filled with mortar. Much as one would like to believe that this wonderfully early piece of walling was the work of St. Austin, careful consideration leads one to the conclusion that though it may be the work of Saxon workmen it was performed probably under the direction of Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop after the fire of 1067. But there is,

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

however, another piece of early walling that probably escaped the fire, the presence of which goes far to prove that the present domestic buildings and great cloister are built on the site of the Saxon ones. It is that forming the west wall of the west alley of the great cloister, which also formed the east wall of the cellarer's lodging in Lanfranc's day.

Professor Willis believed that this wall was rebuilt by Prior Chillenden (1390–1411), but this is clearly a mistake on his part, as the masonry of this particular wall is of an earlier and ruder character than that of Lanfranc's day, and would seem to be undoubtedly a portion of the Saxon buildings. It can be studied from the interior of the cloister, but better from the garden of the Archbishop's Palace, where the wall is exposed for its entire length.

After examining carefully the historical statements concerning the result of this disastrous fire already brought forward, we are compelled to admit that with the above exception, nothing of the Saxon Cathedral or of the domestic buildings remain above ground.

It is now necessary to call attention to the details of the Saxon Cathedral Church as described by Edmer early in the twelfth century, bearing in mind that he drew his recollection of it from the days when he was a boy at the monastery school and what he remembered of it when he was of mature age; also a few words must be said in explanation of the method of entry into the crypt of the Saxon Cathedral which has been adopted in the text, and which has been a matter of controversy since the problem was first attempted to be solved by Professor Willis in 1845.[1]

"This was that very church (asking patience for a digression) which had been built by Romans, as Bede bears witness in his history, and which was duly arranged in some parts in imitation of the church of the blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter; in which his holy relics are exalted by the veneration of the whole world.

"The venerable Odo had translated the body of the blessed Wilfrid, archbishop of York (*sic*), from Ripon to Canterbury, and had worthily placed it in a more lofty receptacle, to use his own words, that is to say, in the great Altar which was constructed of rough stones and mortar, close to the wall at the eastern part of the presbytery. Afterwards another altar was placed at a convenient distance before the aforesaid altar, and dedicated in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, at which the Divine mysteries were daily celebrated. In this altar the blessed Alphege had solemnly deposited the head of St. Swithin, which he had brought with him when he was translated from Winchester to Canterbury, and also many relics of other saints. To reach these altars, a certain crypt which the Romans call a Confessionary, had to be ascended by means of several steps from the choir of the singers. This crypt was fabricated beneath in the likeness of the confessionary of St. Peter, the vault of which was raised so high, that the part above could only be reached by many steps.

[1] Willis, *Arch. Hist. Cath.* p. 9. Extracted from "De Reliquiis S. Audoeni, etc., in Opuscula Edmeri Cantoris." Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

APPENDIX

"Within, this crypt had at the east an altar, in which was enclosed the head of the blessed Furseus, as of old it was asserted. Moreover, the single passage (of entrance) which ran westward from the curved part of the crypt, reached from thence up to the resting-place of the blessed Dunstan, which was separated from the crypt itself by a strong wall; for that most holy father was interred before the aforesaid steps at a great depth in the ground, and at the head of the saint stood the matutinal altar. Thence the choir of the singers was extended westward into the body (aula) of the church, and shut out from the multitude by a proper enclosure."

The matter contained in this tract is fully dealt with in the text, but here it only remains to draw attention to the mode of entry to the crypt referred to in Edmer's own words:

"*Sane via una, quam curvatura criptæ ipsius ad occidentem vergentem concipiebat, usque ad locum quietis beati Dunstani tendebatur, qui maceria forti ab ipsa cripta dirimebatur.*"

We have seen how those words which I have put in italics in the above have been translated by Willis:

"Moreover the single passage (of entrance) which ran westward from the curved part of the crypt, reached from thence up to the resting place of the blessed Dunstan, which was separated from the crypt itself by a strong wall."

The late Sir William St. John Hope, in his illuminating article on *The Plan and Arrangement of the first Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, printed in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, April, 1918, refers to Mr. G. G. Scott's translation of Edmer's description:

"Enclosed within the curved portion of the crypt extended westward a single passage-way leading to the resting place of the blessed Dunstan, which was separated from the crypt itself by a strong mass of masonry."

He then refers to Professor Baldwin-Brown's conjecture that "The form of the crypt was evidently that of a curved passage following the line of the apse and communicating with a chamber or confessio at the eastern limit." . . . "The passage followed the inner sweep of the apse"; he goes on to suggest that at Canterbury the two ends of this curved passage were joined by a straight passage forming the chord of the arc, but the position of the stair or stairs of access was not indicated.

Professor Baldwin Brown conjectures that there were north and south ways of access which were within the transept, leading direct to the straight passage.

Sir William St. John Hope doubted the correctness of Willis's translation, and he is supported by unquestionable authorities; he gives the passage thus:

"An unbroken passage-way, which upon its western edge the curve of the same crypt bounded, extended as far as the resting-place of blessed Dunstan."

Whichever way the translation of this piece of Latin is taken, it can only mean that a passageway ran round inside the curve of the apse, and turned westwards to the tomb of St. Dunstan which had the matutinal altar at his head.

It is true that Edmer does not mention the existence of a polyandrium at Canterbury. It is possible that as the bodies of the Archbishops were to be buried at the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Austin did not contemplate such an adjunct to his Cathedral; though from the presence of a confessio or crypt chapel it is implied that he intended in due course to have some precious relic deposited there in an altar. In this he was following the plan of the crypt which Edmer tells us was fabricated beneath the old church of St. Peter at Rome, which had not only a polyandrium which was entered by ways north and south within the transept, but it had also a confessionary or crypt chapel, access to which was by means of a flight of steps down in front of the High Altar. In Rome, in the thirteenth century, Innocent III had these steps removed, for he was afraid—as the body of St. Peter was buried in the confessio—lest some German Emperor or Antipope should be tempted to steal so valuable a relic (Willis), and so he had this opening in the confessio walled up. On the other hand Canterbury had a passageway as described by Edmer (for the use of worshippers), and we know that a crypt chapel occupying the whole of the area of the apse would be extremely unlikely in the seventh century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archæologia, issued by the Soc. of Antiquaries.
Archæologia Cantiana.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ingram's Edition.
Bede's *Ecclesiastical History.*
Baldwin Brown's *Arts of Early England.*
Bindley, T. H., *The Epistle of the Gallican Churches.*
Butler's *Lives of the Saints.*
Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum.*
Boggis, R. J. E., *History of St. Augustine's Abbey.*
Capgrave's *Chronicles of England.* Rolls Series.
Dictionary of National Biography.
Elmham, Thos. of, *Historia Monasterii Augustini Cant.* Rolls Series.
Feltoe, C., *Three Canterbury Kalendars.*
Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle.* Bohn.
Flores Historiarum. Rolls Series.
Facsimilies of Anglo-Saxon MSS., J. Cameron and W. Basevi Sanders.
Gervase in *Decem Scriptores.*
Godwin, F., *De Praesulibus Angliae.*
—— *Catalogue of Bishops.*
Gentleman's Magazine.
Hadden, A. W. T., and Stubbs, Bp., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents.*
Henry Bradshaw Society. *The Bobbio Missal.*
—— *Canterbury Benedictional.*
Henry of Huntington's *Chronicle.* Bohn.
Hook, Dean, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.*
Hope, Sir W. St. J., *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries.* 2nd Series, Vol. XXX, p. 140.
Hunt, Rev. W., *History of the English Church*, 597–1066.
Historians of York. Rolls Series.
Injunctions of Edward VI., 1547.
Journal of Theological Studies.
Kerslake, T., *Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Soc. Trans. iii.
Kemble, J., *The Saxons in England.*
Leland, *Itinerary*, 1909 Edition. Vol. IV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury.*
Mabillon, J., *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti.*
Malmesbury, William of, *Gesta Regum.*
Mason, A. J., *Guide to the Ancient Glass in Canterbury Cathedral.*
Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum.* Rolls Series.
MSS. Christ Church, Canterbury.
—— British Museum.
—— Lambeth.
—— Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Pedrick, G., *Monastic Seals of the Thirteenth Century.*
Reliquæ Antiquæ.
Robinson, Dean Armitage, *Ford Lectures*, 1922.
Searle, W. G., *Chronicle of John Stone.*
Stubbs, Bp., *Memorials of St. Dunstan.*
—— *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum.*
Somner's *Canterbury*, 1640.
Simeon of Durham's *Chronicle.*
Thorne's *Chronicle* in *Decem Scriptores.*
Thorpe's *Diplomaterinm Anglicum Ævi Saxonici.*
Warren, F. E., *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.*
Willis, Prof. R., *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.*
Wharton, H., *Anglia Sacra.*
Weever, *Funeral Monuments.*
Wistwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria.*
Wilkin's *Concilia.*

INDEX

A

Adrian, Abbot, 40
Albinus, Abbot, 26
Alcuin (Ealhwine), Theologian, 8
Aldhun, Abbot, 27
Alfred, King, 46, 47, 85
Alfwin the Sacrist, 59
Almar or Elfmar, Abbot of St. Austin's, 86, 87
Alphage, Archbishop, 55, 82–93
Alphage the Bald, Bishop of Winchester, 62
Altar of St. Gregory, 21, 22
Altar, Matutinal, 21, 31
Altar of Our Lady, 21
Altar of The Saviour, 21, 33
Amator, Bishop of Auxerre, xii
Ambulatory, 18
Angles, xii, 9, 16
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 5, 8
Anselm, Archbishop, 17
Apse, Eastern, 14, 17
— Western, 13, 14, 21, 22, 39
Archbishop's seat, 22
Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, 47
Athelard, Charter of Archbishop, 30, 43, 44, 45
Athelgar, Presul of Crediton, 55
Athelm, Archbishop, 30, 62
Athelstan, King, 52
— his Gospel Book, 53, 54
Audoen, Relics of St., 35
— Chapel of St., 35
Austin, St., vii, xii, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25
Austroberta, Relic of St., 22, 39
Axe, xx; a "taper" axe, 95

B

Bath Abbey, 11, 82, 83
Bartholomew, Relic of St., 31
Barton Mills, 1
Bede, The Venerable, 4, 5, 12, 19, 25, 101
Benedict Biscop, 55
Benedictional, The Canterbury, 2
Bigbury, British Oppidum at, 1
Blackmail, 85
Blaise, Relic of St., 30, 36, 37, 47
Boniface IV, Pope, 5
Breogwine, Archbishop, 28, 30, 40, 41, 42, 99
British Church, xii, 2, 9
Britwine, Bishop, 91
Brown, Professor Baldwin, Arts of Early England, 10, 19, 29, 102

C

Caesar, Claudius, xi
— Julius, xi
Calleva (Silchester), xii
Calne, Witan at, 68
Canterbury, xii, 9, 13

Canterbury Cathedral, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 26, 34, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101
— — restored by Odo, 32, 33
— — Miracle during rebuilding, 32
— — Staff at, vii, 5–8, 79
— — Early Seal of Christ Church, 10
Canterbury, The Romano-British and Saxon Church at, 12, 14, 22
— Plan of Saxon Cathedral, 14
Cantium, The, 3
Canute, King, 31, 90, 94, 95
Ceolnoth, Archbishop, 5, 8, 30
Chillenden, Prior, 101
Choir, 17, 21, 102
Cholera, Malignant, 88
Cliff-at-Hoo, Council of, 43
Cloister, 22
Clovesho, Council of, 43
Coldharbour, 1, 3
Confessio, 17, 18, 25, 101, 103
Constantine the Great, xi, 36
Constantine, Baptistery of, 29
Corona, 34
Crypt, 17, 18, 101, 102, 103
— Ambulatory, viii, 102
Cuthbert, Archbishop, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 40

D

Danish Invasion, 76, 83
Dante's *Divina Commedia*, Original of, 19
Deansley, Margaret, *Essays in Mediaeval History*, 8
Decem Scriptores, 13
Delpiere, Canon, 21
Diocletian, Persecution of, xi
Dover, 2
Dun Street, The, 3
Dunstan, Archbishop, 18, 21, 30, 44, 54, 55, 56, 61–77, 83
Durovernum (Canterbury), xii, 1, 14
— Map of, xv

E

Eadbert, King of Kent, 26
Eadburga, or Bugga, Abbess, 75
Eadsige, Archbishop, 31, 95, 96
Eastry, Prior, 37, 60, 69, 71, 81, 93
Ecclesiastical History of the English Church, 4, 12, 19, 26
Edbald, King, 68
Eddius Stephanus, Precentor, 34
Edgar, King, 35, 52
— The oath of King, 53; crowned, 66
Ediva, 51, 55, 64
Edmer, the Precentor, 4, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 26, 28, 29, 32, 82, 90, 97, 99, 101, 103
Edmund, King, 55, 56, 61, 63
Edred, 34, 54, 55, 61
Edward the Confessor, 95, 96, 97
— the Elder, King, 46, 47
— the Martyr, King, 67, 68
Edwy, King, 56, 61, 65
Elfric, Archbishop, 5, 31, 78–81, 84
Elfsey, Bishop, 91
Elham, Prior John, 44
Emma, Queen of King Canute, 31, 90, 91
Epistle of the Gallican Churches, Lugdunum and Vienna, 23
Ermenburga or Dompneva, Abbess, 75
Ernulf, Prior, 18, 34, 35, 37, 59
Ethelbald, of Mercia, King, 41
Ethelbert, II, 40, 41
— King, xii, 4, 5, 13, 25
Ethelburga, Queen, 76
Ethelgar, Archbishop, 31
Ethelnoth, 5, 31, 90, 91, 95
Ethelred, 11, 61
— Archbishop, 5, 30
Ethelric, Bishop of Selsey, 96
Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, 83
Ethelwulf, 11

F

Familia of the Archbishop, 5, 6, 8
Feologild, Archbishop, 30, 43, 44, 45

Fleury, Cluniac Abbey of, 56
Florentius, St., 74
Fordwich, 1
— Church, St. Odo's tomb in, 60
Formosus, Pope, 46
Furseus, St., 19, 20, 25, 38, 39, 102

G

Gallican Liturgy, 22, 23, 24
Gaul, Transalpine, xi
Gervase of Canterbury, 12, 16, 89
Glastonbury, 62, 63, 64, 67, 72, 95
Godwine, Earl, 96
Gospels, Latin, of King Canute, 94
Gregory, Pope, 6
Grimbald, Abbot of St. Omers, 47
Grimketal, Bishop of Selsey, 95

H

Hardicanute, 91
Harold, King, 97
Hastings, Battle of, 97
Hengist, xii
Henry, Prior, 5
Hexham, Crypt at, 18
High Altar, The, 20, 21, 34, 37, 103
Hope, Sir William St. John, viii; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 14, 17, 19, 29, 32, 33, 102

I

Introduction, xi
Inventory of Texts and Relics, 20
Irenaeus, 10

J

Jaenbert, Abbot, 28
John of Corvey, 47
John the Baptist, Church of St., 12, 26, 29, 30, 41, 44, 49, 58, 81, 97, 98
Jutes, xii, 9, 16

K

Kemble, J. M., *Saxons in England*, 6

L

Lanfranc, vii, 3, 4, 5, 12, 33, 37, 44, 49, 58, 89, 99, 100, 101
Langton, Archbishop Stephen, 38
Lateran, Church of the, 29
Leland, 72, 92
Leofruna, Abbess, 77, 88
Lindisfarne, Gospels, 52
Livett's Report on the west wall of the Crypt, Canon, 25
Livingus or Lyfing, Archbishop, 31, 90
Lyminge, Abbey of, 76
Lympne, 2

M

Maeilbrihde Mac Durnan, Abbot of Armagh, his book of the Gospels, 52
Majesty of Our Lord, Image of, 72
Marinus, Pope, 46
Martin, St., Tower of, 22
Martin's, St., Church, 2, 31, 95
Michael, Chapel of St., 44
Milan, Edict of, xi, xii
Mildred, Abbess, 75, 76
Minster, St. Mildred's Nunnery, 27
Missal or Sacramentarium Gallicanum, The Bobbio, 14, 23, 24
Molash, Prior William, 57, 58

N

Ninian, St., xii, 9
Nothelm, Archbishop, 25

O

Odo, Archbishop, 10, 11, 12, 21, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 49, 50–60, 91, 101

Offa, King, 11, 30
Olaf, King of Norway, 83
Osbern, the Historian, 99, 100

P

Patrick, St., xii, 9
Pedrick, G., *Monastic Seals of the Thirteenth Century*, 11
Peg-tankards, 67
Peronne, Church of, 19
Peter's at Rome, St., 17, 18, 19, 29
Picts and Scots, xii
Pilgrim Way, 2
Plegmund, Archbishop, 30, 36, 46–9
— consecrates seven bishops in one day, 47, 48
Polyandrium, 18, 20, 103
Porch towers, 22
Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, 10
Preface, vii
Presbytery, 20
Priory of Christ Church Canterbury, 4

R

Ramsgate (Ruimsgate), 3
Reculver, 1, 3, 54, 74
Reformation, The, vii
Relics, 36, 37, 38, 39, 57, 71, 72, 92, 101, 102, 103
Remigius St., Bishop of Dorchester, 96
Richborough, 1
Ripon, Crypt at, 18
Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop, 96
Robinson, Very Rev. Dean, 6

S

St. Austin's Abbey, 5, 8, 20, 25, 26, 28, 44, 103
St. Denis, Abbey of, 11
St. Martin of Tours, xii
St. Paul's Cathedral, 90, 91
Sandwich, The Haven granted by Canute, 94
Sarre, 3
Saxons, xii, 9, 16
Saxon School at Rome, 46
Saxon Thanet Saints, Notes on, 74
Seledritha, Abbess, 76
Sergius II, Pope, 47
Sigeburga or Siburgis, Abbess, 44, 72, 75, 76, 77
Sigeric, Archbishop, 31
Silchester, xii, 6, 9, 12, 13
Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, 95
— Bishop of Rochester, 96
Sprott, Chronicle of Thomas, 6
Stigand, Archbishop, 96, 97
Stone Church, xii
Stone, John, Monk of Christ Church, 5, 49
— Richard, 77
Stubbs, Bishop, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 6, 8
Sturry, 1, 3
Swithin, Head of, St., 92, 101

T

Theodore, Archbishop, 25, 40, 55
Theodulph of Orleans, St., 2
Thomas of Canterbury, St., 59, 72
— of Elmham, 5
Thorne, Abbot Nicholas, 27
— William, 26
Thorne's Chronicle, 27
Thrum the Dane, 88
Thurkill, 85
Tonford, 1

W

Wantsume, 1, 3
Warren, F. E., *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 10
Watchester, 3

INDEX

Welde, Abbot-elect William, 27
Westminster Abbey Church, 96
Whithorn, xii
Wilfrid, St., 18, 33, 34, 55, 60, 101
William the Conqueror, 96, 97, 99
Willis, Prof., viii, 13, 16, 28, 29, 101, 102
Winchelsea, Archbishop, 37
Winchester, Abbey of St. Swithin, 97
— Witan at, 67
Windows, Painted. Scenes in the lives of St. Dunstan and St. Alphage, 69–71, 89
Winfrid (or Boniface), of Crediton, St., 40
Witanagemot, 67, 68, 95
Wulfhelm, Archbishop, 30
Wulfred, Archbishop, 6, 8, 30, 43
Wulfrid, Archdeacon, 44
Wulfstan of York, Archbishop, 95

Y

Ymarus, St., 74

Printed in Great Britain by
Butler & Tanner Ltd.,
Frome and London

THE
GREY FRIARS OF CANTERBURY
1224 to 1538

BY

CHARLES COTTON, O.B.E., F.R.C.P.E.

SECOND EDITION

The First Edition of this book was exhausted within a few months of its publication. A Second and Cheaper Edition appeared in 1926 at 3s. 6d. net

A FEW PRESS NOTICES, ETC.

"Dr. Cotton's monograph is a contribution of great value. . . . The history is illustrated with plans and drawings of the convent at different periods."—*Times Literary Supplement.*

"The story of this first Franciscan House, as it is told by Dr. Charles Cotton, the Honorary Librarian of Canterbury Cathedral, in a learned but by no means heavy book, 'The Grey Friars of Canterbury,' recently published by the Manchester University Press."—*The Times.*

"C'est à l'histoire de cette première fondation franciscaine en Angleterre qu'est consacré le petit livre de M. Cotton. C'est un fort bon travail; l'auteur connait bien son sujet, sa documentation est complète en sûre, son exposé précis, son plan clair.—En résumé: un bon livre qui fait grand honneur à son auteur."—*Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine.*

"Every visitor to Canterbury will be glad to have this volume when going over the remains of the Friary and re-creating in imagination a picture of the coming of the Friars seven centuries ago."—*Saturday Review.*

"This reprint of a fine piece of work . . . is most opportune."—*Church Times.*

"In its new form it retains the letterpress and the delightful illustrations and plans. . . . Many besides visitors to Canterbury will appreciate the devoted enthusiasm as well as the careful historical research which have contributed to the making of this book."—*Guardian.*

"The book is well written and contains interesting matter for the general reader, as well as for the antiquarian and student."—*Bookman.*

"The net effect is a finished treatise that deals in turn with ecclesiasticism, archæology, the foundation of educational centres, and ameliorative institutions and many other subjects of engrossing interest. 'The Grey Friars of Canterbury' is at once a text-book of historical value and a romance of idealism."—*Thanet Advertiser.*

"Par cette belle œuvre d'une érudition si fouillée, qui est un modile de documentation et l'exposition, la 'British Society of Franciscan Studies' se trouve une fois de plus à la tête du mouvement historique franciscanisant."—(Signed) Paul Sabatier.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS
23 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD
MANCHESTER

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries
1 1012 01223 5877